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THE

WORKS

OF

Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,

DEAN of ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

VOLUME XV.

COLLECTED AND REVISED

By DEANE SWIFT, Esq;

of GOODRICH, in HEREFORDSHIRE.

Hæ tibi erunt artes. VIRGIL.

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ERRATA.

Page 55, line 27, for *London* read *Landen.*
286, line 13, for *but* read *by.*
300, line 3, for *Whitchet*, read *Whitſhed.*
301, line 4, for ditto read ditto.
Ibid. line 10, for ditto read ditto.
323, line 4, for 300,000, read 30,000.

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Captain Sockett, of Worceſter.
Mr. Samuel Spragg.
John Rudolph Staub, Eſq;
Thomas Staunton, Eſq; of Holbrook, in Suſſex.
William Steuart, Eſq;
Andrew Stone, Eſq;
The Reverend Doctor James Stonehouſe.
John Swale, Eſq; of Gray's-Inn.
The Reverend Doctor Swanne, Fellow of Magdalen-College, Oxford.
Mrs. Swanton.
Michael Sweeny, Eſq; Alderman of Dublin.
William Swift, Eſq;
Thomas Swift, Eſq;
Michael Swift, Eſq;

Jonathan

Jonathan Swift, Eſq;
Richard Swift, Eſq;
Mark Synnott, Eſq;
Walter Synnott, Eſq;

T

The Right Honourable Counteſs Talbot.
The Right Honourable Lord Tyrawley.
The Honourable Charles Townſhend.
Sir Edward Turner, Baronet, of Ambroſeden, in Oxfordſhire.
The Reverend Doctor Tarrant, Dean of Peterborough.
Richard Taylor, Eſq; Gent. Com. of Oriel-College, Oxford.
The Reverend Mr. Taylor, of Schwark.
Mr. Nathaniel Templeman, of Lincoln's-Inn.
Michael Thirkle, Eſq; of Ipſwich.
Morgan Thomas, Eſq; of the Middle-Temple.
Mr. Matthew Thomas, Scholar of Chriſt's-College, Cambridge.
Captain George Thompſon, of York.
Mr. William Thompſon, A. B. of Trinity-College, Dublin.
William Thomſon, M. D. of Worceſter.
Mr. William Thomſon, of London.
John Thorneloe, Eſq; of Worceſter.
John Tickell, Eſq;
The Reverend Mr. Tinely.
Bartholomew Tipping, Eſq; of Welley, in Berkſhire.
Thomas Tomkyns, Eſq;
The Reverend Mr. Tomlinſon, A. M. of Chriſt's-*College, Cambridge.*

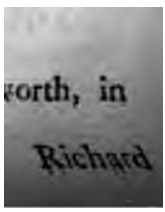
Mr. R. Tovey, Bookſeller, 24 ſets.
Richard Townſhend, Eſq;
William Martin Trinder, Eſq; of Exeter-College, Oxford.
John Tucker, Eſq; 2 ſets.
Mr. John Tyrer, of Worceſter.
George Tyrrel, Eſq;

U

Clotworthy Upton, Eſq;
John Upton, Eſq;
The Reverend Frederick Uſher, S. T. P.
The Reverend Thomas Vernon, of Lower Earley, in Worceſterſhire.
Benjamin Victor, Eſq;
The Reverend Mr. Viney, of Bath,

W

His Excellency Count Woronzow, Ambaſſador Extraordinary from Her Imperial Majeſty of Ruſſia.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick.
The Honourable Mrs. Walſingham, of New Portugal-Street.
Sir Armine Wodehouſe, Baronet.
James Waddel, Eſq;
John Wall, M. D.
John Walcott, Eſq; of Bath.
—— Walpole, Eſq; Banker, of London.
The Reverend Dr. Walker, of Magdalen-College, Oxford.
Mr. Iſaac Walker, Merchant, of London.
Mr. Cooper Walker, of Dublin.
John Walls, Eſq;
James Walwyn junior, Eſq; of L[illegible]worth, in *Herefordſhire*.



Richard Warburton, Eſq;
Mr. Thomas Ward, of Birmingham.
Thomas Waters, Eſq; of Luton, in Eſſex.
The Reverend Mr. Watkins, Vice-Principal of St. Mary-Hall, Oxford.
The Reverend Dr. Waugh, Dean of Worceſter.
Mr. Arthur Webb.
Mr. William Webb.
Alexander Wedderburn, Eſq;
Mr. James Weir.
The Reverend Francis Marias Weſt.
Lieutenant Milborne Weſt.
Mr. Thomas Weſt.
Mr. Thomas Weſt.
John Wightwick, Eſq;
Captain Ffolliott Whiteway.
John Whiteway, Eſq;
Thomas Whyte, Eſq;
Mrs. Wight.
Adam Williams, Eſq;
The Reverend Dr. Wilſon.
George Wilſon, Eſq; of Bedford.
John Wilſon, Eſq;
Theobald Wolfe, Eſq;
Charleton Wollaſton, M. D.
Mr. Philip Woodroſe.
The Reverend Mr. Wordale, Chaplain to the Honourable and Right Reverend the Biſhop of Carliſle.
The Reverend Henry Wright.
Mr. Benjamin Wyncoop, of Philadelphia, in Penſylvania.
William Wynne, Eſq; Gent. Com. of Jeſus-College, Oxford.

Y

Robert Yeates, Eſq;
Arthur Young, Eſq;
John Young, Eſq;

The Reverend Dr. Kyte, Student of Chriſt-church, Oxford.
John Moody, Eſq;

As we have reaſon to believe, that ſeveral Perſons of Rank and Diſtinction, both in Scotland and Ireland, whoſe names and titles have not yet arrived to our knowledge, have pleaſed to honour the publication of theſe Volumes with the encouragement of their ſubſcription, we hope they will not impute the omiſſion of their names in the above Catalogue to any ſort of neglect; as care was taken to poſtpone the printing of it to the lateſt period we poſſibly could.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIFTEENTH VOLUME.

MEMOIRS relating to that Change which happened in the Queen's Miniſtry in the Year 1710, Page 1

Preface to the Hiſtory of the four laſt Years of Queen Anne's Reign, 43

An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's laſt Miniſtry, with relation to their Quarrels among themſelves, and the Deſign charged upon them of altering the Succeſſion of the Crown, 51

The Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords to the Queen, 144

An Anecdote relative to the Peace of Utrecht, 146

A Copy of Dr. Swift's Memorial to the Queen, 147

Some Conſiderations upon the Conſequences hoped and feared from the Death of the Queen, 149

A Sermon upon the Martyrdom of K. Charles I. 156

An

Page

An Account of the Court and Empire of Japan, 180

A Letter to the Writer of the Occaſional Paper, 197

Of Public Abſurdities in England, 207

Short Remarks on Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, 214

An Abſtract of the Hiſtory of England, 217

A Letter to a Member of Parliament in Ireland, upon chuſing a new Speaker there, 225

Some few Thoughts concerning the Repeal of the Teſt, 237

Maxims controlled in Ireland, 239

Sent to Dr. Swift, by a Quaker, 251

A Letter from Sir John Browne to Dr. Swift, 252

A Letter on Mr. M'Culla's Project about Halfpence, and a new one propoſed, 260

Doing Good, a Sermon, on the occaſion of Wood's Project, 283

A Propoſal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland ſhould appear conſtantly in Iriſh Manufactures, 299

A Letter to the Archbiſhop of Dublin, concerning the Weavers, 312

Anſwer to ſeveral Letters from unknown Perſons, 325

An Anſwer to ſeveral Letters ſent from unknown Hands, 338

The

Page

The Subſtance of what was ſaid by the Dean of St. Patrick's to the Lord Mayor and ſome of the Aldermen, when his Lordſhip came to preſent the ſaid Dean with his Freedom in a Gold-box, 348

Thoughts on Religion, 355

Further Thoughts on Religion, 361

A Prayer for Stella, 363

A Sermon upon the Excellence of CHRISTIANITY, *in oppoſition to* HEATHEN PHILOSOPHY, 365

Upon giving Badges to the Poor, 384

Conſiderations about maintaining the Poor, 387

The humble Repreſentation of the Clergy to the Archbiſhop of Dublin, 394

An Anſwer to Bickerſtaff, 405

Hints on Good Manners, 415

Reſolutions when I come to be old, 419

Laws for the Dean's Servants, 421

A Quaker's Letter from Philadelphia, 424

*Character of Mrs. H****d,* 425

——— *of Dr. Sheridan,* 430

The Hiſtory of the Second Solomon, 435

On the Death of Mrs. Johnſon, [*Stella*] 444

Of the Education of Ladies, 462

A Diſcourſe to prove the Antiquity of the ENGLISH *Tongue, ſhewing, from various inſtances, that* HEBREW, GREEK, *and* LATIN, *were derived from the* ENGLISH, 470

THE

THE

EDITORS

TO THE

READER.

IT may appear ſomewhat ſtrange to the world, and eſpecially to men of taſte nd learning, that ſo many poetical, hiſtoical, and other miſcellaneous productions f Dr. SWIFT, ſhould have lain dormant uch a number of years, after the deceaſe f an Author ſo univerſally admired in ll nations of the globe, which have any hare of politeneſs. However, not to be ver and above particular on this occaſion; vere it of any conſequence to relate by

what extraordinary means theſe ſeveral Papers were reſcued from the injuries of time and accidents; or, to inſiſt upon ſome other circumſtances, which at preſent, we rather chuſe to paſs over in ſilence; it would, perhaps, ſeem rather more aſtoniſhing, that ever indeed they ſhould have had the good fortune to make their appearance at all. It may ſuffice to obſerve, That in order to gratify the curioſity of the Public, we ſhall aſcertain theſe Writings to be genuine; although to every man of taſte and judgment they carry their own marks of authenticity. And therefore, as all the original Manuſcripts, not to mention two or three Poems taken from the public prints, are in the Doctor's own hand; or, tranſcribed by his Amanuenſis, have the ſanction of his indorſement; ſome few copies, for which indeed

indeed we have the honour to be obliged to our friends, only excepted; we ſhall depoſite them in the Britiſh Muſeum, provided the Governors will pleaſe to receive them into their collection.

LONDON,
March 18, 1765.

MEMOIRS,

RELATING TO

That Change which happened in the QUEEN's MINISTRY in the Year 1710.

Written in OCTOBER, MDCCXIV.

HAVING continued, for near the ſpace of four years, in a good degree of confidence with the miniſtry then in being, although not with ſo much power as was believed, or at leaſt given out, by my friends as well as by my enemies, eſpecially the latter, in both houſes of parliament: And this having happened during a very buſy period of negotiations abroad, and management or intrigue at home, I thought it might probably, ſome years hence, when the preſent ſcene ſhall have given place to many new ones that will ariſe, be an entertainment to thoſe who will have any perſonal regard for me or my memory, to ſet down ſome particularities which fell under my knowledge and obſervation, while I was ſuppoſed, whether truly or no, to have *part in the ſecret* of affairs.

One circumſtance I am a little ſorry for, that I was too negligent (againſt what I had always reſolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints or journals of every thing material as it paſſed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, although I was convinced, by a thouſand inſtances, of the weakneſs of my memory. But, to ſay the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at Court, the leſs he thinks them of conſequence, or worth regarding. And thoſe kind of paſſages, which I have with curioſity found or ſearched for in Memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the firſt hand, or were ſuch wherein I acted myſelf. This I take to be one among other reaſons why great miniſters ſeldom give themſelves the trouble of recording the important parts of that adminiſtration, where they themſelves are at the head. They have extinguiſhed all that vanity which uſually poſſeſſes men during their firſt acquaintance at courts; and, like the maſters of a puppet-ſhow, they deſpiſe thoſe motions which fill common ſpectators with wonder and delight.

However, upon frequently recollecting *the courſe of* affairs during the time I was either

either truſted or employed; I am deceived, if in hiſtory there can be found any period more full of paſſages, which the curious of another age would be glad to know the ſecret ſprings of; or, from whence more uſeful inſtructions may be gathered for directing the conduct of thoſe, who ſhall hereafter have the good or ill fortune to be engaged in buſineſs of the ſtate.

It may probably enough happen, that thoſe who ſhall at any time hereafter peruſe theſe papers, may think it not ſuitable to the nature of them, that, upon occaſion, I ſometimes make mention of myſelf; who, during theſe tranſactions, and ever ſince, was a perſon without titles or public employment. But, ſince the chief leaders of the faction then out of power, were pleaſed in both houſes of parliament to take every opportunity of ſhewing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the ſecret of all affairs, and without whoſe advice or privity, nothing was done, or employment diſpoſed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of ſome paſſages, wherein the public and myſelf were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cauſe of giving myſelf *this trouble, is to* ſatisfy my particular

friends; and, at worſt, if, after the fate of manuſcripts, theſe papers ſhall, by accident or indiſcretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to cenſure than other memoirs, publiſhed for many years paſt, in Engliſh, French, and Italian. The period of time I deſign to treat on, will commence with September 1710, from which time, till within two months of the Queen's death, I was never abſent from court, except about ſix weeks in Ireland.

But, becauſe the great change of employments in her Majeſty's family, as well as in the kingdom, was begun ſome months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr. Sacheverel's trial, while I was abſent, and lived retired in Ireland; I ſhall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, ſome particulars I learned from the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, the Lady Maſham, and Doctor Atterbury, who were beſt able to inform me.

I have often with great earneſtneſs preſſed the Earl of Oxford, then Lord Treaſurer, and my Lady Maſham, who were the ſole perſons which brought about that *great change*, to give me a particular account

count of every circumſtance and paſſage during that whole tranſaction: Nor did this requeſt proceed from curioſity, or the ambition of knowing and publiſhing important ſecrets; but, from a ſincere honeſt deſign of juſtifying the Queen, in the meaſures ſhe then took, and after purſued, againſt a load of ſcandal which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with ſome appearance of truth. It was eaſy to foreſee, even at that diſtance, that the Queen could not live many years; and it was ſufficiently known, what party was moſt in the good graces of the ſucceſſor; and, conſequently, what turns would be given by hiſtorians to her Majeſty's proceedings, under a reign, where direct contrary meaſures would probably be taken. For inſtance, what would be more eaſy to a malicious pen than to charge the Queen with inconſtancy, weakneſs, and ingratitude, in removing and diſgracing the Duke of Marlborough, who had ſo many years commanded her armies with victory and ſucceſs; in diſplacing ſo many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whoſe counſels ſhe had in all appearance ſo proſperouſly governed; in extending the marks *of her ſeverity and* diſpleaſure towards the

wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that perſon ſhe had ſo long employed and ſo highly truſted; and all this by the private intrigues of a woman of her bed-chamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be ſuppoſed to have acted that bold part only from a motive of revenge upon the loſs of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

Theſe were ſome of the arguments I often made uſe of with great freedom, both to the Earl of Oxford and my Lady Maſham, to incite them to furniſh me with materials for a fair account of that great tranſaction, to which they always ſeemed as well diſpoſed as myſelf. My Lady Maſham did likewiſe aſſure me, that ſhe had frequently informed the Queen of my requeſt, which her Majeſty thought very reaſonable, and did appear upon all occaſions as deſirous of preſerving reputation with poſterity, as might juſtly become a great Prince to be.

But, that incurable diſeaſe, either of negligence or procraſtination, which influenced every action both of the Queen and the *Earl of* Oxford, did in ſome ſort infect every *one who had* credit or buſineſs in court.

For,

For, after ſoliciting near four years, to obtain a point of ſo great importance to the Queen and her ſervants, from whence I could propoſe nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myſelf, it was perpetually put off.

The ſcheme I offered was to write her Majeſty's reign; and, that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the hiſtoriographer's place, although of inconſiderable value, and of which I might be ſure to be deprived upon the Queen's death.

This negligence in the Queen, the Earl of Oxford, and my Lady Maſham, is the cauſe that I can give but an imperfect account of the firſt ſprings of that great change at court, after the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, my memory not ſerving me to retain all the facts related to me; but what I remember I ſhall here ſet down.

There was not, perhaps, in all England, a perſon who underſtood more artificially to diſguiſe her paſſions than the late Queen. Upon her firſt coming to the throne, the Ducheſs of Marlborough had loſt all favour with her, as her Majeſty hath often acknowledged to thoſe who have told it me. That *Lady had long* preſerved an aſcendant *over her Miſtreſs*, while ſhe was Princeſs,

which her Majeſty, when ſhe came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor ſpirit to ſubdue. This Princeſs was ſo exact an obſerver of forms, that ſhe ſeemed to have made it her ſtudy, and would often deſcend ſo low, as to obſerve, in her domeſticks of either ſex, who came in her preſence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining of a coat, were unſuitable at certain times. The Ducheſs, on the other ſide, who had been uſed to great familiarities, could not take it into her head, that any change of ſtation ſhould put her upon changing her behaviour, the continuance of which was the more offenſive to her Majeſty, whoſe other ſervants, of the greateſt quality, did then treat her with the utmoſt reſpect.

The Earl of Godolphin held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard ſeveral reaſons given for her Majeſty's early diſguſt againſt that Lord. The Ducheſs, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to ſolicit the Queen upon things very unacceptable to her, which her Majeſty liked the worſe, as knowing from whence *they originally* came; and his Lordſhip, although

although he endeavoured to be as reſpect-ful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occaſions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the Duke of Marlborough ſhe was wholly indifferent (as her nature in gene-ral prompted her to be), until his reſtleſs, impatient behaviour had turned her a-gainſt him.

The Queen had not a ſtock of amity to ſerve above one object at a time; and further than a bare good or ill opinion, which ſhe ſoon contracted and changed, and very often upon light grounds, ſhe could hardly be ſaid either to love or to hate any body. She grew ſo jealous upon the change of her ſervants, that often, out of fear of being impoſed upon, by an over-caution, ſhe would impoſe upon herſelf; ſhe took a delight in refuſing thoſe who were thought to have greateſt power with her, even in the moſt reaſon-able things, and ſuch as were neceſſary for her ſervice; nor would let them be done till ſhe fell into the humour of it herſelf.

Upon the grounds I have already relat-ed, her Majeſty had gradually conceived a *moſt rooted averſion* from the Duke and

Ducheſs

Ducheſs of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin; which ſpread, in time, through all their allies and relations, particularly to the Earl of Hertford, whoſe ungovernable temper had made him fail in his perſonal reſpects to her Majeſty.

This I take to have been the principal ground of the Queen's reſolutions to make a change of ſome officers both in her family and kingdom; and that theſe reſolutions did not proceed from any real apprehenſion ſhe had of danger to the church or monarchy. For, although ſhe had been ſtrictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and diſcipline, yet ſhe was not ſo ready to foreſee any attempts againſt it by the party then preſiding. But, the fears that moſt influenced her, were ſuch as concerned her own power and prerogative, which thoſe neareſt about her were making daily encroachments upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreaſonable demands.

The deportment of the Ducheſs of Marlborough, while the Prince lay expiring, was of ſuch a nature, that the Queen, then in the heights of grief, was not able to *bear it; but*, with marks of diſpleaſure *in her* countenance, ſhe ordered the Ducheſs

cheſs to withdraw, and ſend Mrs. Maſham to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before Prince George's death. This Prince had long conceived an incurable averſion from that party, and was reſolved to uſe his utmoſt credit with the Queen, his wife, to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which ſeemed to favour this attempt; for the Queen, reſolving to beſtow a regiment upon Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Maſham, ſignified her pleaſure to the Duke of Marlborough; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refuſed his conſent, and retired in anger to the country. After ſome heats, the regiment was given to a third perſon: But, the Queen reſented this matter ſo highly, which ſhe thought had been promoted by the Earl of Godolphin, that ſhe reſolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr. St. John carried a letter from her Majeſty to the Duke of Marlborough, ſignifying her reſolutions to take the ſtaff from the Earl of Godolphin, and that ſhe expected his Grace's compliance; to which the Duke returned a very humble anſwer. I cannot

not engage for this paſſage, it having never come into my head to aſk Mr. St. John about it: But, the account Mr. Harley and he gave me, was, That the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin had concerted with them upon a moderating ſcheme, wherein ſome of both parties ſhould be employed, but with a more favourable aſpect towards the church: That a meeting was appointed for compleating this work: That, in the mean-time, the Duke and Ducheſs of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, were ſecretly uſing their utmoſt efforts with the Queen to turn Mr. Harley, (who was then ſecretary of State) and all his friends, out of their employments: That the Queen, on the other ſide, who had a great opinion of Mr. Harley's integrity and abilities, would not conſent, and was determined to remove the Earl of Godolphin. This was not above a month before the ſeaſon of the year when the Duke of Marlborough was to embark for Flanders; and, the very night in which Mr. Harley and his friends had appointed to meet his Grace and the Earl of Godolphin, George Churchill the Duke's brother, who was in good credit *with the Prince*, told his Highneſs, that the

Duke was firmly determined to lay down his command, if the Earl of Godolphin went out, or Mr. Harley and his friends suffered to continue in. The Prince, thus intimidated by Churchill, reported the matter to the Queen; and the time and service pressing, her Majesty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great Lords failed the appointment; and the next morning, the Duke at his levee said aloud in a careless manner, to those who flood round him, That Mr. Harley was turned out.

Upon the Prince's death, November [illegible] the two great Lords so often mentioned, who had been for some years united with the Low-church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promise, which his Highness had ever most strenuously opposed. The Lord Somers was made president of the council, the Earl of Wharton Lieutenant of Ireland, and [illegible] others of the same stamp were put in considerable posts.

It should seem to me that the Duke and Earl were not very willingly drawn to [illegible] part so much power to those of that party, who expected these removals for some years before, and were always put off upon

[illegible]

pretence of the Prince's unwillingneſs to have them employed. And I remember, ſome months before his Highneſs's death, my Lord Sommers, who is a perſon of reſerve enough, complained to me with great freedom of the ingratitude of the Duke and Earl, who, after the ſervice he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither ſhall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other ſervice to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil, which my Lord Godolphin had brought upon us, by perſuading the Queen to paſs *the Scotch act of ſecurity*. But, to return from this digreſſion.

Upon the admiſſion of theſe men into employments, the court ſoon ran into extremity of Low-church meaſures; and although, in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Harley, Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. St. John, and ſome others, made great and bold ſtands in defence of the conſtitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time that the Duke of Marlborough, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of *money*, or by the raſh counſels of his wife

the Ducheſs, made that bold attempt of deſiring the Queen to give him a commiſſion to be general for life. Her Majeſty's anſwer was, That ſhe would take time to conſider it; and, in the mean-while, the Duke adviſed with the Lord Cowper, then Chancellor, about the form in which the commiſſion ſhould be drawn. The Chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to diſſuade the Duke from engaging in ſo dangerous an affair; and proteſted he would never put the great ſeal to ſuch a commiſſion.

But the Queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the Duke, and talked to a perſon whom ſhe had then taken into confidence, as if ſhe apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The Duke of Argyle, and one or two more Lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the Queen. This Duke was under great obligations to the Duke of Marlborough, who had placed him in a high ſtation in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But, his unquiet and ambitious ſpirit, never eaſy while there was any one above him, made him, upon ſome *trifling* reſentments, conceive

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an inveterate hatred againſt his general. When he was conſulted what courſe ſhould be taken upon the Duke of Marlborough's requeſt to be general for life; and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refuſal; I was told, he ſuddenly anſwered, That her Majeſty need not be in pain; for, he would undertake, whenever ſhe commanded, to ſeize the Duke at the head of his troops, and bring him away either dead or alive.

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr. Sacheverel, which aroſe from a fooliſh paſſionate pique of the Earl of Godolphin, whom this divine was ſuppoſed, in a ſermon, to have reflected on under the name of *Volpone*, as my Lord Sommers, a few months after, confeſſed to me; and, at the ſame time, that he had carneſtly, and in vain endeavoured, to diſſuade the Earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on in the form and manner which every body knows, and therefore there need not be any thing ſaid of it here.

Mr. Harley, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. Maſham, privately brought to the Queen, and, in ſome meetings,

ings, eaſily convinced her Majeſty of the diſpoſitions of her people, as they appeared in the courſe of that trial in favour of the church, and againſt the meaſures of thoſe in her ſervice. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr. Harley was able to procure this private acceſs to the Queen, the Ducheſs of Marlborough, by her emiſſaries, watching all the avenues to the back-ſtairs, and upon all occaſions diſcovering their jealouſy of him; whereof he told me a paſſage, no otherways worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an inſolent, jealous miniſter, who would wholly engroſs the power and favour of his Sovereign. Mr. Harley, upon his removal from the ſecretary's office, by the intrigues of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of theſe two Lords near Kenſington-gate. The Earl, in a high fit of jealouſy, goes immediately to the Queen, reproaches her for privately ſeeing Mr. Harley, and was hardly ſo civil to be convinced with her Majeſty's frequent proteſtations to the contrary.

Theſe ſuſpicions, I ſay, made it hard for her *Majeſty and Mr.* Harley to have private

interviews; neither had he made uſe of the opportunities he met with to open himſelf ſo much to her, as ſhe ſeemed to expect, and deſired; although Mrs. Maſham, in right of her ſtation in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occaſions of purſuing what Mr. Harley had begun. In this critical juncture, the Queen, hemmed in, and as it were impriſoned, by the Ducheſs of Marlborough and her creatures, was at a loſs how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr. Harley, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary meſſenger; he read the ſuperſcription, and ſaw it was the Queen's writing; he ſent for the meſſenger, who ſaid, he knew not whence the letter came, but that it was delivered him by an under-gardener, I forget whether of Hampton-Court or Kenſington. The letter mentioned the difficulties her Majeſty was under, blaming him for not ſpeaking with more freedom, and more particularly; and deſiring his aſſiſtance. With this encouragement he went more frequently, although ſtill as private as poſſible, to the back-ſtairs; and from that time began to have entire credit with the Queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown as well as to the church and monarchy

narchy itſelf, from the councils and actions of ſome of her ſervants: That ſhe ought gradually to leſſen the exorbitant power of the Duke and Ducheſs of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, by taking the diſpoſition of employments into her own hands: That it did not become her to be a ſlave to a party: but to reward thoſe who may deſerve by their duty and loyalty, whether they were ſuch as were called of the High-church or Low-church. In ſhort, whatever views he had then in his own breaſt; or, how far ſoever he intended to proceed, the turn of his whole diſcourſe was intended, in appearance, only to put the Queen upon what they called a moderating ſcheme; which however made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon her, that when this miniſter, led by the neceſſity of affairs, the general diſpoſition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her Majeſty upon going greater lengths than ſhe had firſt intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and ſome inſuperable: as we ſhall ſee in the progreſs of this change.

Her Majeſty, purſuant to Mr. Harley's advice, reſolved to diſpoſe of the firſt great employment that fell, according to her *own pleaſure*, without conſulting any of

her miniſters. To put this in execution, an opportunity ſoon happened by the death of the Earl of Eſſex, whereby the lieutenancy of the Tower became vacant. It was agreed between the Queen and Mr. Harley, that the Earl Rivers ſhould go immediately to the Duke of Marlborough, and deſire his Grace's good offices with the Queen, to procure him that poſt. The Earl went accordingly, was received with abundance of profeſſions of kindneſs by the Duke, who ſaid the lieutenancy of the Tower was not worth his Lordſhip's acceptance, and deſired him to think of ſomething elſe. The Earl ſtill inſiſted, and the Duke ſtill continued to put him off; at length Lord Rivers deſired his Grace's conſent to let him go himſelf and beg this favour of the Queen, and hoped he might tell her Majeſty, his Grace had no objection to him. All this the Duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no conſequence. The Earl went to the Queen, who immediately gave orders for his commiſſion. He had not long left the Queen's preſence, when the Duke of Marlborough, ſuſpecting nothing that would happen, went to the *Queen,* told her the lieutenancy of the *Tower falling* void by the death of the Earl

of Eſſex, he hoped her Majeſty would beſtow it upon the Duke of Newcaſtle, and give the Oxford-regiment, then commanded by that Duke, to the Earl of Hertford. The Queen ſaid, he was come too late; that ſhe had already granted the lieutenancy to Earl Rivers, who had told her that he [the Duke] had no inclination to him. The Duke, much ſurprized at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her Majeſty's preſence, was however forced to ſubmit.

The Queen went on by ſlow degrees. Not to mention ſome changes of leſſer moment, the Duke of Kent was forced to compound for his chamberlain's ſtaff, which was given to the Duke of Shrewſbury, while the Earl of Godolphin was out of town, I think at Newmarket: His Lordſhip, on the firſt news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the Duke of Shrewſbury as he was capable of. The circumſtances of the Earl of Sunderland's removal, and the reaſons alledged, are known enough. His ungovernable temper had overſwayed him to fail in his reſpects to her Majeſty's perſon.

Mean-time both parties ſtood at gaze, not knowing to what theſe ſteps would lead, or where they would end. The Earl of Wharton, then in Ireland, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneaſineſs as well as he could. Some of his ſanguine correſpondents had ſent him word, that the Queen began to ſtop her hand, and the church-party to deſpond. At the ſame time, the Duke of Shrewſbury happened to ſend him a letter filled with great expreſſions of civility: The Earl was ſo weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three ſtanders-by, "Damn him, he is making fair "weather with me; but, by G—d, I will "have his head."

But theſe ſhort hopes were ſoon blaſted, by taking the Treaſurer's ſtaff from the Earl of Godolphin; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her Majeſty ſending him a letter, by a very ordinary meſſenger, commanding him to break it. The Treaſury was immediately put into commiſſion, with Earl Powlet at the head; but Mr. Harley, who was one of the number, and at the ſame time made Chancellor of the Exchequer, was already ſuppoſed to *preſide behind* the curtain.

Upon

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became diſpirited, and ſeemed to expect the worſt that could follow. The Earl of Wharton immediately deſired, and obtained leave, to come for England, leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himſelf with the utmoſt profligateneſs, injuſtice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and deteſtation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, becauſe my coming into the knowledge of the new miniſtry began about this time, I muſt digreſs a little, to relate ſome circumſtances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no ſtranger to the court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my ſtudy, yet I had dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late King William's death; when, returning with the Earl of Berkeley from Ireland, and falling upon the ſubject of the five great Lords, who were then impeached for high crimes and miſdemeanors, by the Houſe of Commons, I happened to ſay, that the ſame manner of proceeding, at leaſt *as it appeared* to me from the news

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Upon

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became dispirited, and seemed to expect the worst that could follow. The Earl of Wharton immediately desired, and obtained leave, to come for England, leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himself with the utmost profligateness, injustice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and detestation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, because my coming into the knowledge of the new ministry began about this time, I must digress a little, to relate some circumstances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no stranger to the court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my study, yet I had dealt very little with politics, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late King William's death; when, returning with the Earl of Berkeley from Ireland, and falling upon the subject of the five great Lords, who were then impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, by the House of Commons, I happened to say, that the same manner of proceeding, at least as it appeared to me from the news

we received of it in Ireland, had ruined the liberties of Athens and Rome, and that it might be eaſy to prove it from hiſtory. Soon after I went to London; and, in a few weeks, drew up a diſcourſe, under the title of *The Conteſts and Diſſentions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Conſequences they had upon both thoſe States.* This diſcourſe I ſent very privately to the preſs, with the ſtricteſt injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my reſidence in Ireland. The book was greedily bought, and read; and charged ſome time upon my Lord Sommers, and ſome time upon the Biſhop of Saliſbury; the latter of whom told me afterwards, that he was forced to diſown it in a very public manner, for fear of an impeachment, wherewith he was threatened *.

Returning next year for England, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received, (which was the firſt I ever printed †) I muſt confeſs, the vanity of a young

* Vide Swift's Eſſay upon the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Jonathan Swift, chap. vi. p. 121. where there is a droll, pleaſant dialogue, between Dr. Swift and Biſhop Sheridan, relating to this famous Tract.

† Meaning the firſt political piece he had ever printed: *ſe it is not* true. For, the Tale of a Tub, and the *of the Books*, were printed in or about the year 1697.

Or,

young man prevailed with me, to let myſelf be known for the author: Upon which my Lords Sommers and Hallifax, as well as the Biſhop above mentioned, deſired my acquaintance, with great marks of eſteem and profeſſions of kindneſs: Not to mention the Earl of Sunderland, who had been of my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to ſerve me ſince the death of the King, and were very liberal in promiſing me the greateſt preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I ſoon grew domeſtic with Lord Hallifax, and was as often with Lord Sommers, as the formality of his nature (the only unconverſable fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I began to trouble myſelf with the difference between the principles of Whig and Tory; having formerly employed myſelf in other, and, I think, much better ſpeculations. I talked often upon this ſubject with Lord Sommers; told him, that, having been long converſant with the Greek and Roman authors, and therefore

Or, perhaps, Doctor Swift, having not thought proper to acknowledge himſelf the author of thoſe pieces, imagined he had a right to ſay, this diſcourſe was the firſt he had ever printed; two or three poems, in the Athenian Oracle, which were printed when he was a *very* young man, being not worth *his remembrance.*

a lover

a lover of liberty, I found myſelf much inclined to be what they called a Whig in politics; and that, beſides, I thought it impoſſible, upon any other principle, to defend or ſubmit to the Revolution: But, as to religion, I confeſſed myſelf to be an High-churchman, and that I did not conceive how any one, who wore the habit of a clergyman, could be otherwiſe: That I had obſerved very well with what inſolence and haughtineſs ſome Lords of the High-church party treated not only their own chaplains, but all other clergymen whatſoever, and thought this was ſufficiently recompenſed by their profeſſions of zeal to the church: That I had likewiſe obſerved how the Whig Lords took a direct contrary meaſure, treated the perſons of particular clergymen with great curteſy, but ſhewed much ill-will and contempt for the order in general: That I knew it was neceſſary for their party, to make their bottom as wide as they could, by taking all denominations of Proteſtants to be members of their body: That I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made by the violent men on either ſide; but, that the connivance, or encouragement, given *by the Whigs* to thoſe writers of pamphlets,

lets, who reflected upon the whole body of the clergy, without any exception, would unite the church, as one man, to oppoſe them: And, that I doubted his Lordſhip's friends did not conſider the conſequence of this. My Lord Sommers, in appearance, entered very warmly into the ſame opinion, and ſaid very much of the endeavours he had often uſed to redreſs that evil I complained of. This his Lordſhip, as well as my Lord Hallifax, (to whom I have talked in the ſame manner) can very well remember: And I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the ſame party, that both their Lordſhips, about the time of Lord Godolphin's removal, did upon occaſion call to mind what I had ſaid to them five years before.

In my journeys to England I continued upon the ſame foot of acquaintance with the two Lords laſt mentioned, until the time of Prince George's death, when the Queen, who, as is before related, had for ſome years favoured that party, now made Lord Sommers Preſident of the Council, and the Earl of Wharton Lieutenant of Ireland. Being then in London, I received letters from ſome Biſhops of Ireland, to ſollicit the Earl of Wharton about the remit-

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tal of the firſt-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the Queen had long promiſed, and wherein I had been employed before, with ſome hopes of ſucceſs from the Earl of Godolphin. It was the firſt time I ever was in company with the Earl of Wharton; he received me with ſufficient coldneſs, and anſwered the requeſt I made in behalf of the clergy with very poor and lame excuſes, which amounted to a refuſal. I complained of this uſage to Lord Sommers, who would needs bring us together to his houſe, and preſent me to him; where he received me as drily as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the Earl of Wharton would endeavour, when he went to Ireland, to take off the Teſt, as a ſtep to have it taken off here: Upon which I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, ſhewing the danger to the church by ſuch an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the Lieutenant's chaplain, and ſome others, gueſſed me to be the author, and told his Excellency their ſuſpicions; whereupon I ſaw him no more until I went to Ireland. At my taking leave of Lord Sommers, he deſired I would

would carry a letter from him to the Earl of Wharton, which I abſolutely refuſed; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I ſtaid ſome months in Leiceſterſhire; went to Ireland; and, immediately upon my landing, retired to my country-pariſh, without ſeeing the Lieutenant, or any other perſon; reſolving to ſend him Lord Sommers's letter by the poſt. But, being called up to town, by the inceſſant entreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greateſt part of his government, I lived in the country, ſaw the Lieutenant very ſeldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the leaſt degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his ſecretary Mr. Addiſon, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance.

Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to careſs me, which I underſtood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church-party.

I mentioned theſe inſignificant particulars, as it will be eaſily judged, for ſome reaſons that are purely perſonal to myſelf; it having been objected by ſeveral of thoſe poor pamphleteers, who have blotted ſo much

much paper to ſhew their malice againſt me, that I was a favourer of the low-party. Whereas it hath been manifeſt to all men, that, during the higheſt dominion of that faction, I had publiſhed ſeveral tracts in oppoſition to the meaſures then taken: For inſtance, A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a letter to the Counteſs of Berkeley; The Sentiments of a Church-of-England man; an Argument againſt aboliſhing Chriſtianity; and, laſtly, a Letter to a Member of Parliament againſt taking off the Teſt in Ireland, which I have already mentioned to have been publiſhed at the time the Earl of Wharton was ſetting out to his government of that kingdom. But thoſe who are loud and violent in coffee-houſes, although generally they do a cauſe more hurt than good, yet will ſeldom allow any other merit; and it is not to ſuch as theſe that I attempt to vindicate myſelf.

About the end of Auguſt 1710, I went for England, at the deſire and by the appointment of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of that kingdom; under whoſe hands I had a commiſſion to ſolicite, in conjunction with two Biſhops who were then in London, the firſt-fruits and twentieths to the clergy,

clergy, which had been many years ſolicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two Biſhops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myſelf introduced to Mr. Harley, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and acted as firſt miniſter. He received me with great kindneſs; told me, that he and his friends had long expected my arrival; and, upon ſhewing my commiſſion, immediately undertook to perform it, which he accordingly did in leſs than three weeks, having ſettled it at five meetings with the Queen, according to a ſcheme I offered him, and got me the Queen's promiſe for a further and more important favour to the clergy of Ireland; which the Biſhops there, deceived by miſinformation, not worth mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good iſſue.

When the affair of the firſt-fruits was fully diſpatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr. Harley, in the name of the clergy of Ireland, and of my own, and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr. Harley told me, he and his friends knew very well what uſeful things I had written *againſt the principles* of the late diſcard-

ed faction; and, that my perſonal eſteem for ſeveral among them, would not make me a favourer of their cauſe: That there was now entirely a new ſcene: That the Queen was reſolved to employ none but thoſe who were friends to the conſtitution of church and ſtate: That their great difficulty lay in the want of ſome good pen, to keep up the ſpirit raiſed in the people, to aſſert the principles, and juſtify the proceedings of the new miniſters. * *Upon that ſubject he fell into ſome perſonal civilities, which will not become me to repeat.* He added, That this province was in the hands of ſeveral perſons, among whom ſome were too buſy, and others too idle to purſue it; and concluded, that it ſhould be his particular care, to eſtabliſh me here in England, and repreſent me to the Queen as a perſon they could not be without.

I promiſed to do my endeavours, in that way, for ſome few months; to which he replied, He expected no more; and that he had other and greater occaſions for me.

Upon the riſe of this miniſtry, the principal perſons in power thought it neceſſary,

* Theſe words printed in Italicks are in the original eraſed, *perhaps* to avoid the imputation of vanity.

that

that ſome weekly paper ſhould be publiſhed, with juſt reflections upon former proceedings, and defending the preſent meaſures of her Majeſty. This was begun about the time of the Lord Godolphin's removal, under the name of the Examiner. About a dozen of theſe papers, written with much ſpirit and ſharpneſs, ſome by Mr. Secretary St. John, ſince Lord Bolingbroke; others by Dr. Atterbury, ſince Biſhop of Rocheſter; and others again by Mr. Prior, Doctor Freind, &c. were publiſhed with great applauſe. But theſe gentlemen, grown weary of the work, or otherways employed, the determination was, that I ſhould continue it, which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my ſtile being ſoon diſcovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in ſome manner until her Majeſty's Death.

It was Mr. Harley's cuſtom, every Saturday, that four or five of his moſt intimate friends, among thoſe he had taken in upon the great change made at court, ſhould dine at his houſe; and, after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at firſt, conſiſted only of the Lord-

keeper Harcourt, the Earl Rivers, the Earl of Peterborow, Mr. Secretary St. John, and myſelf: And here, after dinner, they uſed to diſcourſe, and ſettle matters of great importance. Several other Lords were afterwards, by degrees, admitted; as, the Dukes of Ormond, Shrewſbury, and Argyle; the Earls of A——y, Dartmouth, and P——t; the Lord B——y, &c. Theſe meetings were always continued, except when the Queen was at Windſor; but, as they grew more numerous, became of leſs conſequence; and ended only in drinking and general converſation; of which I may, perhaps, have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

My early appearance at theſe meetings, which many thought to be of greater conſequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I uſed all my endeavours to that purpoſe. This gave the occaſion to ſome great men, who thought me already in the ſecret, to complain to me of the ſuſpicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr. Harley, even before he was Lord Treaſurer; ſo early were ſown thoſe ſeeds of diſcontent, which afterwards grew up ſo high. The cauſe of their complaint was, That ſo *great a number* of the adverſe party continued

tinued in employment; and ſome, particularly the Duke of Somerſet and Earl of Cholmondely, in great ſtations at court. They could not believe Mr. Harley was in earneſt; but, that he deſigned to conſtitute a motly comprehenſive adminiſtration, which they ſaid the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of ſome lords and gentlemen, where theſe grievances were at large related to me, with an earneſt deſire that I would repreſent them in the moſt reſpectful manner to Mr. Harley, upon a ſuppoſition that I was in high credit with him. I excuſed myſelf from ſuch an office upon the newneſs of my acquaintance with Mr. Harley; however, I repreſented the matter fairly to him; againſt which he argued a good deal, from the general reaſons of politicians; the neceſſity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of diſobliging thoſe who muſt remain unprovided for, and the like uſual topicks among ſtateſmen. But, there was a ſecret in this matter which neither I, nor indeed any of his moſt intimate friends, were then appriſed of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me further than to aſſure me very ſolemnly, That no *perſon ſhould* have the ſmalleſt

employment, either civil or military, whoſe principles were not firm for the church and monarchy.

However, theſe over-moderate proceedings in the court gave riſe to a party in the Houſe of Commons, which appeared under the name of the October-club; a fantaſtic appellation, found out to diſtinguiſh a number of country gentlemen, and their adherents, who profeſſed in the greateſt degree what was called the High-church principle. They grew in number to almoſt a third part of the Houſe, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what meaſures they were to take in parliament. They profeſſed their jealouſy of the court and miniſtry; declared, upon all occaſions, their deſire of a more general change, as well as of a ſtrict enquiry into former miſmanagement; and ſeemed to expect, that thoſe in power ſhould openly avow the old principles in church and ſtate. I was then of opinion, and ſtill continue ſo, that if this body of men could have remained ſome time united, they would have put the crown under a neceſſity of acting in a more ſteady and *ſtrenuous* manner. But Mr. Harley, who *beſt knew* the diſpoſition of the Queen,

was

was forced to break their meaſures; which he did by that very obvious contrivance of dividing them among themſelves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The miniſters gave every where out, that the October-club were their friends, and acted by their directions; to confirm which Mr. Secretary St. John and Mr. B——, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the conſequences of that aſſembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themſelves betrayed by the reſt, did afterwards meet under the denomination of the March-club, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then roſe, had been choſen without any endeavours from the court, to ſecure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenancies changed throughout the kingdom. For, the trial of Doctor Sacheverel had raiſed, or diſcovered, ſuch a ſpirit in all parts, that the miniſters could very ſafely leave the electors to themſelves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by ſome refiners of both parties, numbered among the ſtrains *of Mr. Harley's* politicks, who was

ſaid to avoid an over-great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a miniſtry. But, from the ſmall experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worſt ſort of all conjectures; and from this one occaſion I take leave to obſerve, That of ſome hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reaſon why the court did not interpoſe in matter of elections, was becauſe they thought themſelves ſure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Beſides it afterwards appeared upon ſome exigencies, which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once like to fail for want of numbers. Mr. Harley, in order to give credit to his adminiſtration, reſolved upon two very important points; firſt, to ſecure the unprovided debts of the nation; and, ſecondly, to put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compaſs both thoſe ends, I have treated at large in another work: I ſhall only obſerve, that while he was preparing to open to the Houſe of Commons his ſcheme for *ſecuring the* public debts, he was ſtabbed

by

by the Marquis de Guiſcard, while he was ſitting in the Council-chamber at the Cock-pit, with a Committee of nine or ten Lords of the cabinet, met on purpoſe to examine the Marquis upon a diſcovery of a treaſonable correſpondence he held with France.

This fact was ſo uncommon in the manner and circumſtances of it, that although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furniſhed the author with ſome materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The aſſaſſin was ſeized, by Mr. Harley's order, upon the eighth of March 1710-11; and, brought before the committee of Lords, was examined about his correſponding with France: Upon his denial, Mr. Harley produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The Marquis, prepared for miſchief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket, while the meſſenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the ſurprize of his letter appearing againſt him, he came ſuddenly behind Mr. Harley, and reaching his arm round, ſtabbed that miniſter into the middle of the breaſt, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago enſiformis*; the penknife ſtriking

upon the bone, and otherwiſe obſtructed by a thick embroidered waiſtcoat, broke ſhort at the handle, which Guiſcard ſtill graſped, and redoubled his blow. The confuſion upon this accident is eaſier conceived than deſcribed: The reſult was, that the Marquis, whether by the wounds given him by ſome of the Lords, or the bruiſes he received from the meſſengers while they were ſeizing him, or the neglect of his ſurgeon; or, that being unwilling to live, he induſtriouſly concealed one of his wounds; he died in a few days after. But Mr. Harley, after a long illneſs, and frequent ill-ſymptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiſcard was the younger brother of the Count of that name, a very honourable and worthy perſon, formerly Governor of Namur. But this Marquis was a reproach to his family, proſtitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his Prince: As to the reſt, of a very poor underſtanding, and the moſt tedious, trifling talker, I ever converſed with. He was grown needy by ſquandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in Holland, his regiment taken from him, and his penſion retrenched; the deſpair of

which

which firſt put him upon his French correſpondence; and the diſcovery of that drove him into madneſs. I had known him ſome years; and, meeting him upon the Mall a few hours before his examination, I obſerved to a friend then with me, that I wondered to ſee Guiſcard paſs ſo often by without taking notice of me. But although, in the later part of his life, his countenance grew cloudy enough, yet I confeſs I never ſuſpected him to be a man of reſolution, or courage, ſufficient to bear him out in ſo deſperate an attempt.

I have ſome very good reaſons to know, that the firſt miſunderſtanding between Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, which afterwards had ſuch unhappy conſequences upon the publick affairs, took it's riſe during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr. St. John affected to ſay in ſeveral companies, that Guiſcard intended the blow againſt him; which, if it were true, the conſequence muſt be, that Mr. St. John had all the merit, while Mr. Harley remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr. St. John was either miſtaken, or miſinformed: *However*, the matter was thus repre-

repreſented in the weekly paper called the Examiner, which Mr. St. John peruſed before it was printed, but made no alteration in that paſſage.

This management was looked upon, at leaſt, as a piece of youthful indiſcretion in Mr. St. John; and, perhaps, was repreſented in a worſe view to Mr. Harley: Neither am I altogether ſure, that Mr. St. John did not entertain ſome proſpect of ſucceeding as firſt miniſter, in caſe of Mr. Harley's death; which, during his illneſs, was frequently apprehended. And, I remember very well, that, upon viſiting Mr. Harley, as ſoon as he was in a condition to be ſeen, I found ſeveral of his neareſt relations talk very freely of ſome proceedings of Mr. St. John; enough to make me apprehend, that their friendſhip would not be of any long continuance.

Mr. Harley, ſoon after his recovery, was made an Earl, and Lord Treaſurer; and Lord Keeper, a Baron.

PREFACE

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Four laſt Years of Queen ANNE's Reign.

HAVING written the following Hiſtory at Windſor, in the happy reign of her Majeſty Queen Anne, of ever glorious, bleſſed and immortal memory; I reſolved to publiſh it for the ſatisfaction of my fellow ſubjects in the year 1713; but being under a neceſſity of going to Ireland, to take poſſeſſion of the Deanry of St. Patrick's, Dublin; I left the original with the miniſters; and having ſtaid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found at my return, that my Lord Treaſurer Oxford, and the Secretary my Lord Bolingbroke, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publiſhing it, without ſome alterations which I would not ſubmit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her Majeſty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have

I have ever ſince preſerved the original very ſafely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the German Family's ſucceeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been eſtabliſhed ſolemnly by the act of an undiſputed parliament, brought into the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Harley, who was then ſpeaker.

But, as I have ſaid in another diſcourſe, it was very well underſtood ſome years before her Majeſty's death, how the new King would act immediately upon his entrance in the choice of thoſe (and thoſe alone) whom he reſolved to truſt; and conſequently what reports would induſtriouſly be raiſed, as well as ſpread, to expoſe the proceedings of her Majeſty herſelf, as well as of her ſervants; who have been ever ſince blaſted as enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment, by the moſt ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily converſant with the perſons then in power; never abſent in times of buſineſs or converſation, until a few weeks before her Majeſty's death; and a witneſs of almoſt every ſtep they made in the courſe of *their adminiſtration*; I muſt have been very

very unfortunate not to be better informed than thoſe miſerable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the ſame time, I freely confeſs, it appeared neceſſary as well as natural, upon ſuch a mighty change as the death of a ſovereign, that thoſe who were to be in power upon the ſucceſſion, and reſolved to act in every part by a direct contrary ſyſtem of polities, ſhould load their predeceſſors with as much infamy as the moſt inveterate malice and envy could ſuggeſt, or the moſt ſtupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could ſwallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write with the utmoſt impartiality, the following Hiſtory of the four laſt years of her Majeſty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced perſons at preſent, as well as poſterity; I am perſuaded in my own mind, as likewiſe by the advice of my oldeſt and wiſeſt friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man by endeavouring to ſet future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful hiſtorian, I cannot ſuffer falſehoods to run on any longer, not only againſt all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even againſt thoſe happy *events, which owe* their ſucceſs to the very meaſures

meaſures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials for this Hiſtory, beſides what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence repoſed in me for thoſe four years, by the chief perſons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambaſſadors abroad, and from the anſwers as well as inſtructions ſent them by our ſecretaries of ſtate, or by the firſt miniſter the Earl of Oxford. The former were all originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the ſecretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention ſeveral memorials given me by the miniſters at home. Further, I was a conſtant witneſs and obſerver of all that paſſed, and entered every particular of any conſequence upon paper.

I was ſo far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her Majeſty iſſued a proclamation, offering 300 l. to any perſon who would diſcover the author of a certain ſhort treatiſe *, which the Queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one ſhilling from the miniſter, or any other preſent, except that

* Public Spirit of the Whigs.

of

of a few books; nor did I want their aſſiſtance to ſupport me. I very often dined indeed with the Treaſurer and Secretary; but, in thoſe days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time ſince. I abſolutely refuſed to be chaplain to the Lord Treaſurer; becauſe I thought it would ill become me to be in a ſtate of dependence.

I ſay this to ſhew, that I had no other bias than my own opinion of perſons and affairs. I preſerved ſeveral of the oppoſite party in their employments, who were perſons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. Addiſon and Mr. Congreve, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the Treaſurer, who much eſteemed them both; and by his Lordſhip's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. Steele might have been ſafe enough, if his continually repeated indiſcretions, and a zeal mingled with ſcurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberleſs prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of thoſe, who, to ſerve their own intereſt or ambition, have caſt off all religion, morality, juſtice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may

not be believed in the preſent age, yet I hope to be ſo in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of England, if either of theſe ſhall then ſubſiſt or not.

I have no intereſt or inclination to palliate the miſtakes, or omiſſions, or want of ſteadineſs, or unhappy miſunderſtandings among a few of thoſe who then preſided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of ſuperficial and ill-informed writers, againſt the conduct of thoſe who are now called Prime Miniſters: And, ſince factions appear at preſent to be at a greater height than in any former times, although, perhaps, not ſo equally poiſed; it may probably concern thoſe who are now in their height, if they have any regard for their own memories in future ages, to be leſs warm againſt others who humbly differ from them in ſome ſtate-opinions. Old perſons remember at leaſt by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed againſt the firſt Earl of Clarendon, whoſe character, as it now ſtands, might be a pattern for all miniſters; although even Biſhop Burnet of Sarum, whoſe principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are ſo little

eſteemed upon many accounts, hath been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the Treaſurer and Secretary Bolingbroke, after my utmoſt endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them; I retired to a friend in Berkſhire, where I ſtaid until her Majeſty's death; and then immediately returned to my ſtation in Dublin, where I continued about twelve years without once ſeeing England. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing nor adding, further than by correcting the ſtyle: And, if I have been guilty of any miſtakes, they muſt be of ſmall moment; for it was hardly poſſible I could be wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I ſhall not be very uneaſy under the obloquy that may, perhaps, be caſt upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the preſent prevailing party. And, yet, I cannot find the leaſt inconſiſtence with conſcience or honour, upon the death of ſo excellent a Princeſs as her late Majeſty, for a wiſe and good man to ſubmit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Proteſtant ſucceſſor; whoſe hereditary title was confirmed by the Queen and both houſes of

parliament, with the greateſt unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance ſhould be a guarantee of that ſucceſſion. Nay, I will venture to go one ſtep farther; that, if the negotiators of that peace had been choſen out of the moſt profeſſed zealots for the intereſts of the Hanover family, they could not have bound up the French king, or the Hollanders, more ſtrictly than the Queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the preſent ſucceſſion; which was in them ſo much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, becauſe they perfectly well knew, that they ſhould never receive the leaſt mark of favour, when the ſucceſſion had taken place.

AN ENQUIRY

Into the BEHAVIOUR of the

QUEEN's LAST MINISTRY,

With Relation to their

QUARRELS among themſelves, and the Deſign charged upon them of altering the Succeſſion of the Crown.

JUNE MDCCXV.

SINCE the death of the Queen, it was reaſonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and ſpeculations: Beſides, the ſcene and ſtation I am in have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compaſs: And being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the preſent adminiſtration, upon that invincible reaſon of having been in ſome degree of truſt and confidence with the former; I have not found the tranſition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified both by nature and education.

The reading and enquiring after news *not being one of* my diverſions, having al-

ways diſliked a mixed and general converſation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed by the duties of my function at a great diſtance from the ſeat of buſineſs; I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: Only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifeſt that the hearts of moſt men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealouſies, or elſe with hatred and rage, to a degree that there ſeems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of different parties; and what the conſequences of this may be, let thoſe conſider who have contributed to the cauſes; which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late Miniſtry, much inſiſted on, and little underſtood by thoſe who write or talk upon that ſubject; wherein I am ſufficiently qualified to give ſatisfaction; and would gladly do it, becauſe I ſee very much weight laid upon each, and moſt mens opinions of perſons and things regulated accordingly.

About two months before the Queen's *death, having* loſt all hopes of any reconcilement between the Treaſurer and the reſt of

of the miniſtry; I retired into the country, to await the iſſue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reaſon to foreſee, in the Earl of Oxford's diſgrace; to whom the Lord Bolingbroke immediately ſucceeded as firſt miniſter: And I was told, that an Earldom and the Garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the Treaſurer's ſtaff againſt the next ſeſſion of parliament; of which I can ſay nothing certain, being then in Berkſhire, and receiving this account from ſome of his friends; but all theſe ſchemes became ſoon abortive, by the death of the Queen, which happened in three days after the Earl of Oxford's removal.

Upon this great event, I took the firſt opportunity of withdrawing to my place of reſidence; and rejoiced as much as any man for his Majeſty's quiet acceſſion to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has ſince appeared indiſputable, that the peace procured by the late miniſtry had, among other good effects, been highly inſtrumental. And, I thank God, I have been ever ſince a loyal humble ſpectator, during all the changes that have happened, *although it* were no ſecret to any *man of common ſagacity*, that his preſent

Majeſty's choice of his ſervants, whenever he ſhould happen to ſucceed, would be determined to thoſe who moſt oppoſed the proceedings during the four laſt years of his Predeceſſor's reign: And, I think, there hath not ſince happened one particular of any moment, which the miniſters did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the diſpoſitions of the court at Hanover in conjunction with the party at home, which, upon all occaſions, publicly diſapproved their proceedings, excepting only the attainder of the Duke of Ormond; which, indeed, neither they nor I, nor, I believe, any one perſon in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foreſee; and, now it is done, it looks like a dream to thoſe, who will conſider the nobleneſs of his birth, the great merits of his anceſtors, and his own; his long unſpotted loyalty, his affability, generoſity, and ſweetneſs of nature. I knew him long and well, and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for ſome years over, and that eaſineſs of temper, which did ſometimes lead him to follow the judgment of thoſe who had, by many degrees, leſs underſtanding than himſelf; *I have* not converſed with a more faultleſs

perſon; of great juſtice and charity; a true ſenſe of religion, without oſtentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly ſkilled in his trade of a ſoldier; a quick and ready apprehenſion, with a good ſhare of underſtanding, and a general knowledge in men and hiſtory, although under ſome diſadvantage by an invincible modeſty, which however could not but render him yet more amiable to thoſe who had the honour and happineſs of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a ſhort imperfect character of that great perſon the Duke of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treaſon; and, therefore, I ſhall not preſume to offer one ſyllable in his vindication, upon that head, againſt the deciſion of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at leaſt to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the Queen, his Miſtreſs, he committed thoſe faults for which he hath now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune; he no more conceived himſelf to be acting high-treaſon, than he did when he was wounded and a priſoner at London, for his ſovereign King William, or when he took and *burned the enemy's* fleet at Vigo.

Upon this occaſion, although I am ſenſible it is an old precept of wiſdom to admire at nothing in human life, yet I conſider, at the ſame time, how eaſily ſome men arrive to the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain ſtupidity or ill-nature, without any ſtrain of philoſophy; and, although the uncertainty of human things be one of the moſt obvious reflections in morality; yet, ſuch unexpected, ſudden, and ſignal inſtances of it, as have lately happened among us, are ſo much out of the uſual form, that a wiſe man may, perhaps, be allowed to ſtart and look aſide, as at a ſudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having ſingled out three perſons from among the reſt of mankind, on whoſe friendſhip and protection I might depend; whoſe converſation I moſt valued, and chiefly confined myſelf to; ſhould live to ſee them all, within the compaſs of a year, accuſed of high-treaſon; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the iſſue. As my own heart was free from all treaſonable thoughts, ſo I did little imagine myſelf

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to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But *the faſhion of this world paſſeth away.* Having already ſaid ſomething of the Duke of Ormond, I ſhall add a little towards the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with ſo many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late Secretary Bolingbroke: Deſcended from the beſt families in England, heir to a great patrimonial eſtate, of a ſound conſtitution, and a moſt graceful, amiable perſon: But all theſe, had they been of equal value, were infinitely below, in degree, to the accompliſhments of his mind, which was adorned with the choiceſt gifts that God hath yet thought fit to beſtow upon the children of men; a ſtrong memory, a clear judgment, a vaſt range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehenſion, an invincible eloquence, with a moſt agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all theſe talents by travel and ſtudy, the latter of which he ſeldom omitted, even in the midſt of his pleaſures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a purſuer: For, although he was perſuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did for ſome time to ſuch a degree that

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he ſeemed rather abſtemious; yet he was ſaid to allow himſelf other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reaſon to believe, he began to be ſenſible. But he was fond of mixing pleaſure and buſineſs, and of being eſteemed excellent at both; upon which account he had a great reſpect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, eſpecially the latter, whom he would gladly be thought to reſemble. His detractors charged him with ſome degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; ſince it was hardly poſſible for a young man, with half the buſineſs of the nation upon him, and the applauſe of the whole, to eſcape ſome tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to buſineſs, was a moſt artful negotiator, and perfectly underſtood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at in a man of his temper, was his prodigious application, whenever he thought it neceſſary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the loweſt clerk in an office. His talent of ſpeaking in public, for which he was ſo very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations *of others*; but underſtanding men, of both parties,

parties, have aſſured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The Earl of Oxford is a perſon of as much virtue, as can poſſibly conſiſt with the love of power; and his love of power is no greater than what is common to men of his ſuperior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it leſs, after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only inſtance that ever fell within my memory, or obſervation, of a perſon paſſing from a private life, through the ſeveral ſtages of greatneſs, without any perceivable impreſſion upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illuſtrious, being deſcended from the heirs-general of the Veres and the Mortimers, ſo he ſeemed to value that accidental advantage in himſelf, and others, more than it could pretend to deſerve. He abounded in good-nature, and good humour; although ſubject to paſſion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himſelf; which, however, he kept under the ſtricteſt government, till towards the end of his miniſtry, when he began to grow ſoured, and to ſuſpect his friends; *and, perhaps, thought* it not worth his

pains

pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former, whom he careſſed without diſtinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them ſhould be his enemies; and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be ſo; at leaſt, if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets publiſhed againſt him, which he frequently read, by way of amuſement, with a moſt unaffected indifference: Neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion ſo much, as by appearing uneaſy when the dealers in that kind of writing firſt began to pour out their ſcurrilities againſt me; which, he thought, was a weakneſs altogether inexcuſable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greateſt variety of knowledge that I have any where met; was a perfect maſter of the learned languages, and well ſkilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a moſt exact judgment. In drawing up any ſtate-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in ſo ſtrong and clear a light. Although his ſtile were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; *yet, often, to* ſave time, he would leave

the ſmaller alterations to others. I have heard that he ſpoke but ſeldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: But no man equalled him in the knowledge of our conſtitution; the reputation whereof made him be choſen ſpeaker to three ſucceſſive parliaments; which office I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with univerſal applauſe: His ſagacity was ſuch, that I could produce very amazing inſtances of it, if they were not unſeaſonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be purſued, and adhered to it: And one or two others in the miniſtry have confeſſed very often to me, that, after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themſelves in the wrong. He was utterly a ſtranger to fear; and, conſequently, had a preſence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality, and contempt of money, were ſuch, that he almoſt ruined his eſtate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was ſo great, that it neither conſiſted with the preſent corruptions of the age, nor the circumſtances of the time. He was ſeldom miſtaken in his *judgment of men,* and therefore not apt

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to change a good or ill opinion by the repreſentation of others; except toward the end of his miniſtry. He was affable and courteous, extremely eaſy and agreeable in converſation, and altogether diſengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expreſſions that could poſſibly tend to what was indecent or prophane. His imperfections were, at leaſt, as obvious, although not ſo numerous as his virtues. He had an air of ſecrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great miniſter, becauſe it warns all men to prepare againſt it. He often gave no anſwer at all, and very ſeldom a direct one: And I the rather blame this reſervedneſs of temper, becauſe I have known a very different practice ſucceed much better: of which, among others, the late Earl of Sunderland, and the preſent Lord Sommers, perſons of great abilities, are remarkable inſtances; who uſed to talk in ſo frank a manner, that they ſeemed to diſcover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would eaſily unlock the breaſts of others. But the Earl of Oxford pleads, in excuſe of this *charge, that* he hath ſeldom or never communicated

municated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he hath not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiſcretion of thoſe he diſcovered it to. Another of his imperfections, univerſally known and complained of, was procraſtination, or delay; which was, doubtleſs, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and miniſter better matched than his Sovereign and he, upon that article: And, therefore, in the diſpoſal of employments, wherein the Queen was very abſolute, a year would often paſs before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewiſe heavily charged with the common court vice, of promiſing very liberally, and ſeldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better than his diſappointed ſollicitors would believe. It may be likewiſe ſaid of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not underſtand the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us uſed to obſerve, that

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thoſe whom he talked well of, or ſuffered to be often near him, were not in a ſituation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt, or diſlike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, becauſe I have obſerved it ſo often miſtaken by the wiſe reaſoners of both parties: Beſides, having had the honour, for almoſt four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than uſually happens to men of my level, and this without the leaſt mercenary obligation; I thought it lay in my power, as I am ſure it is in my will, to repreſent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often conſidered the qualities and diſpoſitions of theſe two miniſters, I am at a loſs to think how it ſhould come to paſs that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniencies and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear ſo many examples, both antient and modern, and of our own as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is uſually imputed in the caſes of Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Scipio,

Scipio, and others, and of Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earls of Clarendon and Strafford, here in England. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the ſeveral branches and ſubordinations of power, hath made the ſcience of governing ſufficiently obvious to common capacities; otherwiſe the world would be left in a deſolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the moſt fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation, among which, princes, who, of all other mortals, are the worſt educated, have twenty millions to one againſt them that they ſhall not be of the number; and proportionable odds, for the ſame reaſons, are againſt every one of noble birth, or great eſtates. Accordingly we find, that the dulleſt nations, ancient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or perſons qualified for adminiſtration. But I take the infelicity of ſuch extraordinary men to have been cauſed by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of *little helps* and *little hindrances*; which is made by Hobbes the definition of Magnanimity: And this contempt, as it certainly diſpleaſes the people in gene-

ral, ſo it giveth offence to all with whom ſuch miniſters have to deal: For, I never yet knew a miniſter, who was not earneſtly deſirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a moſt profound ſcience; whereas it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, honeſty, and a moderate ſhare of plain natural ſenſe. And, therefore, men thus qualified may, very *reaſonably* and juſtly, think that the buſineſs of the world is beſt brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themſelves excel. For I have frequently obſerved more cauſes of diſcontent ariſe from the practice of ſome refined miniſters, to act in common buſineſs, out of the common road, than from all the uſual topics of diſpleaſure againſt men in power. It is the ſame thing in other ſcenes of life, and among all ſocieties or communities; where, no men are better truſted, or have more ſucceſs in buſineſs, than thoſe who, with ſome honeſty and a moderate portion of underſtanding, are ſtrict obſervers of time, place, and method: And, on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expoſe men to the cenſure and obliquy of their colleagues, and the public, than a contempt, or neglect of theſe circumſtances,

however attended with a ſuperior genius, and an equal deſire of doing good: Which hath made me ſometimes ſay, to a great perſon of this latter character, that a ſmall infuſion of the *Alderman* was neceſſary to thoſe who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occaſion, I cannot forget a very trifling inſtance: That one day obſerving the ſame perſon to divide a ſheet of paper with a penknife, the ſharpneſs of the inſtrument occaſioned it's moving ſo irregularly and crooked, that he ſpoiled the whole ſheet; whereupon I adviſed him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little ſtrength and a ſteady hand, never failed to go right.

But, to return from this long digreſſion: About a fortnight after the Queen's death, I came to my place of reſidence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by ſeveral of my acquaintance of both parties; and ſoon learned, that what they objected was the general ſenſe of the reſt. Thoſe of the church-ſide made me a thouſand reproaches upon the ſlowneſs and inactivity of my friends, upon their fooliſh quarrels with each other, for no viſible cauſe, and

thereby ſacrificing the intereſts of the church and kingdom to their private piques. And that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good-opinion of the court at Hanover. But the weight of theſe gentlemens diſpleaſure fell upon the Earl of Oxford; that he had acted a trimming part, was never thoroughly in the intereſt of the church, but held ſeparate commerce with the adverſe party: That, either from his negligence, procraſtinating nature, or ſome ſiniſter end, he had let ſlip many opportunities of ſtrengthening the church's friends: That he undertook more buſineſs than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the reſt of the miniſters. Many facts were likewiſe mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I ſhall only take notice of one, relating to Ireland, where he kept four biſhopricks undiſpoſed of, though often and moſt earneſtly preſſed to have them filled; by which omiſſion the church-intereſt of that kingdom, in the Houſe of Lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably loſt.

Thoſe who diſcourſed with me after this manner, did, at the ſame time, utterly re-

nounce all regard for the Pretender; and mentioned, with pleaſure, the glorious opportunity, then in his Majeſty's hands, of putting an end to party-diſtinctions for the time to come: And the only apprehenſion that ſeemed to give them any uneaſineſs was, leſt the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, repreſent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other ſide, the gainers and men in hopes by the Queen's death, talked with great freedom in a very different ſtile: They all directly aſſerted, that the whole late miniſtry were fully determined to bring in the Pretender, although they would ſometimes a little demur upon the Earl of Oxford; and, by a more modern amendment, they charged the ſame accuſation, without any reſerve, upon the late Queen herſelf. That, if her Majeſty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable. But in that juncture it happened, (to uſe their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) *things were not ripe.* That this accuſation would, in a ſhort time, infallibly be proved as clear as the ſun at noon-day to all the world: And the conſequences naturally following from theſe poſitions were,

that the leaders ought to loſe their heads, and all their abettors be utterly ſtript of power and favour.

Theſe being the ſentiments and diſcourſes of both parties, tending to load the late miniſtry with faults of a very different nature; it may, perhaps, be either of ſome uſe or ſatisfaction to examine thoſe two points; that is to ſay, firſt, how far theſe miniſters are anſwerable to their friends for their neglect, miſmanagement, and mutual diſſentions; and, ſecondly, with what juſtice they are accuſed, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the ſucceſſion of the crown in favour of the Pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occaſionally done this already in two ſeveral Treatiſes, of which the one is an hiſtory, and the other memoirs of particular facts, but neither of them fit to ſee the light, at preſent; becauſe they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and, therefore, intended only for the inſtructing of the next age, and eſtabliſhing the reputation of thoſe who have been uſeful to their country in the preſent. At the ſame time, I take this opportunity of aſſuring thoſe who may happen,

pen, ſome years hence, to read the hiſtory I have written, that the blackeſt characters to be met with in it were not drawn with the leaſt mixture of malice, or ill-will, but merely to expoſe the odiouſneſs of vice. For I have always held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an hiſtorian, who indeed hath it in his power to reward virtue, but not to puniſh vice: Becauſe I never yet ſaw a profligate perſon, who ſeemed to have the leaſt regard in what manner his name ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity: And I know a certain * Lord, not long ſince dead, who, I am very confident, would not have diſpoſed of one ſingle ſhilling to have had it in his choice, whether he ſhould be repreſented to future ages as an *Atticus* or a *Cataline*.

However, being firmly reſolved, for *very material reaſons*, to avoid giving the leaſt offence to any party or perſon in power; I ſhall barely ſet down ſome facts and circumſtances, during the four laſt years of Queen Anne's reign, which at preſent are little known; and whereby thoſe of the church-party, who object againſt the un-

* Earl of Wharton.

ſteadineſs, neglect, and want of concert in the late miniſtry, may better account for their faults. Moſt of thoſe facts I can bear witneſs of myſelf, and have received the reſt from ſufficient authority.

It is moſt certain, that, when the Queen firſt began to change her ſervants, it was not from a diſlike of things, but of perſons, and thoſe perſons were a very ſmall number. To be more particular, would be *incedere per ignes*. It was the iſſue of Dr. Sacheverel's trial that encouraged her to proceed ſo far; and ſeveral of the low-church party, knowing that her diſpleaſure went no further than againſt one ſingle family, did not appear to diſlike what was done; of which I could give ſome * extraordinary inſtances. But that famous trial had raiſed ſuch a ſpirit in the nation, againſt the parliament, that her Majeſty thought it neceſſary to diſſolve them, which, I am confident, ſhe did not at firſt intend. Upon this reſolution, delivered by the Queen, at council, in a more determinate manner than was uſual with her; as I was particularly informed by my Lord Sommers, then preſident, ſome, who were willing to ſacrifice one or two

* Duke of Somerſet.

perſons,

perſons, would not ſacrifice their cauſe; but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to reſign their employments, which the Queen ſuffered moſt of them to do with the utmoſt regret, and which thoſe who knew her beſt thought to be real, eſpecially Lord Sommers and Lord Cowper, for whom ſhe had as great a perſonal regard and eſteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church-party was returned, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were ſecure; or, as Mr. Harley's detractors would have it, (who was then miniſter) from a refinement of his politics, not to ſuffer, upon the account of I know not what wiſe reaſons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they ſoon began to diſcover more zeal than the Queen expected or deſired; ſhe had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehenſive ſcheme, which ſhe maintained with great firmneſs, nor would ever depart from, until about half a year before her

her death: But this neither the Houſe of Commons nor the kingdom in general were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture ſince. Several country-members, to almoſt a third part of the Houſe, began immediately to form themſelves into a body, under a fantaſtic name of the *October-club*. Theſe daily preſſed the miniſtry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealouſy and diſcontent. I remember it was then commonly underſtood and expected, that, when the ſeſſion ended, a general removal would be made: But it happened otherwiſe; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was uſed in ſupplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime miniſter, I confeſs, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little ſatisfied with the ſolution I had heard, and partly knew that he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation lie in common; for I found the effect did not anſwer, and that, in the mean-time, he led ſo uneaſy a life, by ſolicitations and purſuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his

his miniſtry, I did, at the requeſt of ſeveral conſiderable perſons, take the liberty of repreſenting this matter to him; his anſwer was ſhort and cold; That he hoped his friends would truſt him; that he heartily wiſhed none but thoſe who loved the church and Queen, were employed; but that all things could not be done on a ſudden. I have reaſon to believe, that his neareſt acquaintance were then wholly at a loſs what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preſerve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while, in reality, he had little or none; and, beſides, he thought it became him to take the burthen of reproach upon himſelf, rather than lay it upon the Queen his Miſtreſs; who was grown very poſitive, ſlow, and ſuſpicious; and, from the opinion of having been formerly too much *directed*, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be *adviſed*. So that few miniſters had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealouſy and diſcontents of his friends, on one ſide, and the management of the Queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendſhip, in appearance, than what I obſerved between thoſe three great men, who

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were then chiefly truſted; I mean the Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the firſt, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and ſaid, I would venture to propheſy, that however inconſtant our court had hitherto been, their miniſtry would certainly laſt; for they had the church, the crown, and the people entirely on their ſide. Then it happened, that the public good and their private intereſt had the ſame bottom, which is a piece of good fortune that doth not always fall to the ſhare of men in power: But, principally, becauſe I obſerved they heartily loved one another; and I did not ſee how their kindneſs could be diſturbed by competition, ſince each of them ſeemed contented with his own diſtrict: So that, notwithſtanding the old maxim, which pronounceth court-friendſhips to be of no long duration, I was confident theirs would laſt as long as their lives. But, it ſeems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiſer than I, who lived to ſee this friendſhip firſt degenerate into indifference and ſuſpicion, and

and thence corrupt into the greateſt animoſity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the diſcredit of me and my ſagacity. By what degrees, and from what cauſes their diſſenſions grew, I ſhall, as far as it may be ſafe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr. Harley was ſtabbed by Guiſcard, the writer of a weekly paper, called the *Examiner*, taking occaſion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumſtance, I know not upon what grounds, that the French aſſaſſin confeſſed he, at firſt, intended to have murdered Mr. Secretary St. John; who ſitting at too great a diſtance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other. Whether the Secretary had been thus informed, or was content that others ſhould believe it, I never yet could learn; but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of ſuch a report, which, by a very unfair diviſion, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr. St. John, and left Mr. Harley nothing but the danger and the pain: Of both which, although he had a ſufficient ſhare, (his phyſicians being often under apprehenſions for his life) yet I am confident the time of his illneſs was a period of more quiet

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and eaſe than he ever enjoyed during the reſt of his adminiſtration. This report was not unreſented by Mr. Harley's friends; and the rather becauſe the fact was directly otherwiſe, as it ſoon appeared by Guiſcard's confeſſion.

While that miniſter lay ill of his wound, and his life in queſtion, the weight of buſineſs fell, in ſome meaſure, upon the Secretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confeſs, I have ſeldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in caſe Mr. Harley ſhould die; although, at the ſame time, I muſt do juſtice to Mr. St. John, by repeating what he ſaid to me, with great appearance of concern, (and he was but an ill diſſembler) That, if Mr. Harley's accident ſhould prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loſs: That, as things then ſtood, his life was abſolutely neceſſary: That, as to himſelf, he was not maſter of the ſcheme by which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the Queen; neither did he ſee how it would be poſſible for them, in ſuch a *caſe, to* wade through the difficulties they *were then* under. However, not to be

over-

over-particular [illegible] a point, thus much is cer[illegible]ings happen-ing during Mr. Ha[illegible]ment, which bred a coldneſs a[illegible]tween thoſe two great men; and t[illegible], creaſing by many ſubſequent acciden[illegible] could never be removed.

Upon Mr. Harley's recovery, which was ſoon followed by his promotion to an earldom, and the Treaſurer's ſtaff, he was earneſtly preſſed to [illegible] with the change of employments [illegible]hich his friends and the kingdo[illegible]e very impatient wherein, I am c[illegible]fi[illegible]nt, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put further difficulties in his way. The Queen having thought fit to take the key from the Ducheſs of Marlborough, it was, after ſome time, given to another great * Lady, wholly in the intereſts of the oppoſite party; who, by a moſt obſequious behaviour, of which ſhe is a perfect miſtreſs, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual acceſs, quickly won ſo far upon the affections of her Majeſty, that ſhe had more perſonal credit than all the Queen's ſervants put together.

* *Ducheſs of Somerſet.*

Of

Of this Lady's character and ſtory, having ſpoken ſo much in other papers, which may one day ſee the light; I ſhall only obſerve, that, as ſoon as ſhe was fixed in her ſtation, the Queen, following the courſe of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were, indeed, uſed to divert her Majeſty from this choice; but ſhe continued ſteady, and pleaded, that, if ſhe might not have liberty to chuſe her own ſervants, ſhe could not ſee what advantage ſhe had gotten by the change of her miniſtry: And ſo little was her heart ſet upon what they call a High-church, or Tory adminiſtration, that ſeveral employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commiſſions, remained in the hands of thoſe who moſt oppoſed the preſent proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of conſequence was made till the winter following, when the Earl of Nottingham was pleaſed to prepare and offer a vote, in the Houſe of Lords, againſt any peace, while Spain continued in the hands of the Bourbon family. Of this vote the miniſters had early notice; and, by caſting up the numbers, concluded they ſhould have a majority of ten to overthrow it.

The

he Queen was deſired, and promiſed, to eak to a certain Lord, who was looked ion as dubious: That Lord attended acrdingly, but heard not a word of the atter from her Majeſty, although ſhe afrwards owned it was not for want of reembering, but from perfect indifference. he Treaſurer, who truſted to promiſes, id reckoned that others would truſt to his, as, by a moſt unſeaſonable piece of parnony, groſsly deceived; and the vote rried againſt the court. The Queen had ie curioſity to be preſent at the debate; id appeared ſo little diſpleaſed at the rent, or againſt thoſe from whom ſhe ight have expected more compliance; that * perſon in high ſtation among her doeſtics, who, that day in her preſence, had iewn his utmoſt eloquence (ſuch as it was) gainſt the miniſters, received a particular mark of diſtinction and favour, which, y his poſt, he could not pretend to, and as not removed from her ſervice but with tceeding difficulty, many months after. nd it is certain that this vote could not ave been carried, if ſome perſons, very ear her Majeſty, had not given aſſuranes where they were proper, that it would

* Duke of Somerſet. † To lead out the Queen.

be acceptable to the Queen, which her behaviour ſeemed to confirm.

But, when the conſequences of this vote were calmly repreſented to her, that the limitation ſpecified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in caſe the recovery of Spain ſhould be found impoſſible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the oppoſite party, and had, hitherto, been vainly endeavoured, either by treaty or war: That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer it's burthen and charge, eſpecially with annual additions: That other expedients might poſſibly be found for preventing France and Spain from being united under the ſame king, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the deſign of this vote was to put her Majeſty under the neceſſity of diſſolving the parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the adminiſtration in the hands of thoſe whom ſhe had thought fit to lay aſide, and this by ſacrificing her preſent ſervants to the rage and vengeance of the former; with many other obvious conſiderations, not very proper at this time to be repeated: Her Majeſty, who was earneſtly bent upon giving peace to her people,

people, conſented to fall upon the ſole expedient, that her own coldneſs, or the Treaſurer's thrift and want or contempt of artifice had left her; which was, to create a number of peers, ſufficient to turn the balance in the Houſe of Lords. I confeſs that, in my hiſtory of thoſe times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and conſequently very unfit for preſent peruſal, I have refined ſo far as to conjecture, that, if this were the Treaſurer's counſel, he might poſſibly have given it upon ſome further views than that of avoiding the conſequences of my Lord Nottingham's vote. And what thoſe were, I ſuppoſe, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that, from the time of the Revolution to the period I am now ſpeaking of, the favour of the court was almoſt perpetually turned towards thoſe who, in the party-term, are called Whigs, or the Low-church; and this was a ſpace of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the Biſhops-bench almoſt wholly renewed. But the majority of landed men, ſtill retaining the old church-principles in religion and government, notwithſtanding all endeavours to convert

them, the late king was under many inſuperable difficulties during the courſe of his reign; elections ſeldom ſucceeding ſo well, as to leave the court-ſide without ſtrenuous oppoſition, ſufficient to carry many points againſt him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late Queen's ſucceeding to the crown, the church-party, who ſeemed to have grown more numerous, under all diſcouragements, began to conceive hopes, that her Majeſty, who had always profeſſed to favour their principles, would make uſe of their ſervice. And, indeed, upon that foot, things ſtood for ſome time: But, a new war being reſolved on, three perſons, who had moſt credit with her Majeſty, and who were then looked upon to be, at leaſt, as high principled as could poſſibly conſiſt with the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, having conſulted their friends, began to conceive that the military ſpirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen againſt France, more ſanguine upon the power and wealth of England, and better verſed in the arts of finding out funds, to which they had been ſo long uſed. There were ſome other motives for this tranſition of the miniſters at that time, which

which are more proper for the Hiſtory above-mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But, thus the Queen was brought to govern by what they call a Low-church miniſtry, which continued for ſeveral years: Till, at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and ſucceſs; and the nation riſing into a flame, (whether juſtly or no) upon the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, which, in effect, was a general muſter of both parties; her Majeſty, following her own inclinations and thoſe of her people, reſolved to make ſome changes in the miniſtry, and take Mr. Harley into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge againſt that miniſter ſays, *by the baſeſt inſinuations*; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I ſhall not diſpute: Although I confeſs to have received a very different account of that matter from a moſt excellent Lady, upon whoſe veracity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her miſtreſs, muſt needs know a particular fact wherein ſhe was immediately concerned and truſted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a Houſe of Commons.

When the new parliament met, whoſe elections were left entirely to the people, without the leaſt influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church-party in the nation out-numbered the other, and eſpecially in the ſeveral counties. But, in the Houſe of Lords, even after ſome management, there was but a weak and crazy majority: Nor even could this have been expected, if ſeveral great Lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not only complied, but been highly inſtrumental in the change; as the Dukes of Shrewſbury and Argyle, the Earls of Peterborough, Rivers, and ſome others, who certainly came into the Queen's meaſures upon other motives than that of party. Now, ſince the government of England cannot go on while the two Houſes of Parliament are in oppoſition to each other; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of Church-men: One of theſe two things was of neceſſity to be done; either, firſt, to diſſolve that parliament, and call another of the Whig-ſtamp, by force of a prodigious expence, which would be neither decent nor ſafe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feaſible: Or elſe,

elſe, to turn the balance in the Houſe of Lords; which, after the ſucceſs of Lord Nottingham's vote, was not otherwiſe to be done, than by creating a ſufficient number of peers, in order, at once, to make the Queen and her people eaſy upon that article for the reſt of her reign. And this I ſhould be willing to think was the Treaſurer's meaning, when he adviſed thoſe advancements; which, however, I confeſs, I did very much diſlike.

But if, after all I have ſaid, my conjecture ſhould happen to be wrong; yet I do not ſee how the Treaſurer can juſtly be blamed for preſerving his cauſe, his friends, and himſelf, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful: Perhaps, he was brought under that neceſſity by the want of proper management; but when that neceſſity appeared, he could not act otherwiſe, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of thoſe times, would have been called, delivering the Queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction they had ſo lately got rid of. And, I believe, no miniſter of any party would, in his circumſtances, have ſcrupled

to make the ſame ſtep, when the *ſumma rerum* was at ſtake.

Although the Queen was brought into this meaſure by no other motive than her earneſt deſire of a peace; yet the Treaſurer's friends began to preſs him anew for further changes in employments; concluding, from what was paſt, that his credit was great enough to compaſs whatever he pleaſed. But this proved to be ill reaſoning; for the Queen had no diſlike at all to the other party, (whatever perſonal piques ſhe might bear to ſome among them) further than as ſhe conceived they were bent upon continuing the war, to which her Majeſty reſolved to put as ſpeedy an end as ſhe could with honour and ſafety to her kingdoms; and therefore fell, with readineſs enough, into the methods propoſed to her for advancing that great work. But, in diſpenſing her favours, ſhe was extremely cautious and ſlow; and, after the uſual miſtake of thoſe who think they have been often impoſed on, became ſo very ſuſpicious, that ſhe overſhot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a perſon happened to be recommended as uſeful for her ſervice, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, ſhe would conſent; but,

but, if the Treaſurer offered, at the ſame time, a warrant, or other inſtrument, to her already prepared in order to be ſigned, becauſe he preſumed to reckon upon her conſent beforehand, ſhe would not; and thus the affair would ſometimes lie for ſeveral months together, although the thing were ever ſo reaſonable, or that even the public ſuffered by the delay. So that this miniſter had no other remedy but to let her Majeſty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longeſt that the nature of the thing could ſuffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr. Secretary St. John, whoſe merits and pretenſions, as things then ſtood, were far ſuperior to any, was purpoſely left out, becauſe the court had need of his great abilities, the following ſeſſion, in the Houſe of Commons; and the peace, being then upon the anvil, he was beſt able to explain and juſtify the ſeveral ſteps towards it; which he accordingly did with invincible reaſon and univerſal applauſe. When the ſeſſion was over, the Queen thought fit to give him a title; and, that he might not loſe his rank, created him Viſcount. There had been an Earldom in his name and family,

mily, lately extinct; (tho' the Barony fell to a collateral branch in the perſon of an infant), and the Secretary, being of the ſame houſe, expected and deſired the ſame degree. For he reaſoned, that, making him a Viſcount, would be but rigorous juſtice, and he hoped he might pretend to ſome mark of favour. But the Queen could not be prevailed with; becauſe, to ſay the truth, he was not much, at that time, in her good graces; ſome women about the court having infuſed an opinion into her, that he was not ſo regular in his life as he ought to be. The Secretary laid the whole blame of this diſappointment upon the Earl of Oxford, and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the Earl's friendſhip as long as he lived, nor have any further commerce with him, than what was neceſſary for carrying on the public ſervice. And although I have good reaſon to be aſſured that the Treaſurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himſelf and Lady Maſham then proteſted to me, yet my Lord Bolingbroke thought the appearances were ſo ſtrong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The diviſions between theſe two great men began to ſplit the court into parties; Harcourt,

court, Lord Chancellor. the Dukes of
wſbury and Argyle, Sir William Wind-
, and one for two more, adhered to the
etary; the reſt were either neuters or
ined to the Treaſurer, whether from
cy or gratitude, although they all
ed to blame and lament his myſteri-
and procraſtinating manner in acting;
ch the ſtate of affairs, at that time,
ld very ill admit, and muſt have ren-
d the Earl of Oxford inexcuſable, if
Queen's obſtinate temper had not put
under the neceſſity of exerting thoſe
nts wherewith, it muſt be confeſſed,
nature was already too well provided.
his miniſter had ſtronger paſſions than
Secretary, but kept them under ſtricter
ernment: My Lord Bolingbroke was of
ture frank and open; and, as men of
t genius are ſuperior to common rules,
eldom gave himſelf the trouble of diſ-
ing, or ſubduing his reſentments, al-
gh he was ready enough to forget

to vanity, or lightneſs. And, upon the whole, no two men could differ more in their diverſions, their ſtudies, their ways of tranſacting buſineſs, their choice of company, or manner of converſation.

The Queen, who was well informed of theſe animoſities among her ſervants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cauſe, began to find, and lament the ill conſequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her Treaſurer, whoſe greateſt fault, in his whole miniſtry, was too much compliance with his Miſtreſs, by which his meaſures were often diſconcerted, and himſelf brought under ſuſpicion by his friends.

I am very confident, that this alteration in the Queen's temper, towards the Earl of Oxford, could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one ſtep in politics which I have not been able to apprehend. When the Queen firſt thought of making a change among her ſervants, after Doctor Sacheverel's trial, my Lady Maſham was very much heard and truſted upon that point, and it was by her intervention Mr. Harley was admited into her Majeſty's preſence. That Lady then in high

high favour with her Miſtreſs, which, I believe, the Earl was not ſo very ſedulous to cultivate or preſerve, as if he had it much at heart; nor was altogether ſorry, when he ſaw it under ſome degree of declination. The reaſons for this muſt be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: But the juncture was not favourable for ſuch a refinement, becauſe it was early known to all, who had but looked into the court, that this Lady muſt have a ſucceſſor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obſtruct his proceedings. My Lady Maſham was a perſon of a plain ſound underſtanding, of great truth and ſincerity, without the leaſt mixture of falſehood or diſguiſe; of an honeſt boldneſs and courage, ſuperior to her ſex; firm and diſintereſted in her friendſhip, and full of love, duty, and veneration for the Queen, her Miſtreſs: Talents as ſeldom found, or ſought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there: So that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public, than a coldneſs between this lady and the firſt miniſter; nor a greater miſtake in the latter, than to ſuffer, or connive, at the leſſening of her credit, which he quickly

ſaw

ſaw removed very diſadvantagiouſly to another * object, and wanted the effects of, when his own was ſunk in the only domeſtick affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the Queen's favour to the Earl was thus gradually leſſening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider, which he looked upon with great indifference, and ſeemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out ſome proper opportunity for delivering up his ſtaff: But this her Majeſty would not then admit; becauſe, indeed, it was not eaſy to determine who ſhould ſucceed him.

In the midſt of theſe diſpoſitions at court, the Queen fell dangerouſly ſick at Windſor, about Chriſtmas 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that ſhe was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were ſaid to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the Earl of Wharton's houſe: Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expreſſions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding men of

* The Ducheſs of Somerſet.

form

form did not allow to be altogether decent. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched, with an account of the Queen's illneſs, to the Treaſurer, who was then in town; and, in order to ſtop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad, in his chariot, with a pair of horſes, and did not go down to Windſor till his uſual time. Upon his arrival there the danger was over, but not the fright, which ſtill ſat on every body's face, and the account given of the confuſion, and diſtraction the whole court had been under, is hardly to be conceived: Upon which the Treaſurer ſaid to me, "Whenever any thing ails the Queen, theſe "people are out of their wits; and yet, "they are ſo thoughtleſs, that, as ſoon as "ſhe is well, they act as if ſhe were im-"mortal." I had ſufficient reaſon, both before and ſince, to allow his obſervation to be true, and that ſome ſhare of it might, with juſtice, be applied to himſelf.

The Queen had early notice of this behaviour among the diſcontented leaders, during her illneſs. It was, indeed, an affair of ſuch a nature, as required no aggravation; which, however, would not have been wanting, the women of both parties, who then attended her Majeſty, being

ing well diſpoſed to repreſent it in the ſtrongeſt light. The reſult was, that the Queen immediately laid aſide all her ſchemes and viſions of reconciling the two oppoſite intereſts, and entered upon a firm reſolution of adhering to the old Engliſh principles, from an opinion that the adverſe party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little conſiſting (as the language and opinion went then) with the ſafety of the conſtitution, either in church or ſtate. She, therefore, determined to fall into all juſt and proper methods, that her miniſters ſhould adviſe her to, for the preſervation and continuance of both. This I was quickly aſſured of, not only by the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Bolingbroke, but by the Treaſurer himſelf.

I confeſs myſelf to have been then thoroughly perſuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the miniſters, by uniting them in purſuing one general intereſt; and, conſidering no farther than what was fitteſt to be done, I could not eaſily foreſee any objections, or difficulties, that the Earl of Oxford would make; I had, for ſome time, endeavoured to cultivate the ſtricteſt friendſhip between him and the *General,

* The Duke of Ormond.

y telling both of them, (which happened
y be the truth) how kindly they ſpoke of
ach other; and by convincing the latter
f what advantage ſuch an union muſt be
) her Majeſty's ſervice. There was an
ffair upon which all our friends laid a
ıore than ordinary weight. Among the
orſe and foot guards appointed to attend
n the Queen's perſon, ſeveral officers took
very occaſion, with great freedom and
ıtterneſs of ſpeech, to revile the miniſtry,
ıpon the ſubject of the peace and the
retender, not without many groſs expreſ-
ons againſt the Queen herſelf; ſuch as, I
ıppoſe, will hardly be thought on or at-
empted, but certainly not ſuffered under
he preſent powers. Which proceeding,
eſides the indignity, begot an opinion,
hat her Majeſty's perſon might be better
uarded than by ſuch keepers, who, after
ttending at court, or at the levee of
he General or firſt miniſter, adjourned,
o publiſh their diſaffection in coffee-
ıouſes and gaming-ordinaries, without
ny regard to decency or truth. It was
ıropoſed, that ten or a dozen of the leaſt
liſcreet among theſe gentlemen ſhould be
ıbliged to ſell *their* poſts in the guards;
nd that two or three, who had gone the

greateſt lengths, ſhould have a price fixed for their commiſſions, ſomewhat below the exorbitant rate uſually demanded for a few years paſt. The Duke of Ormond deſired but ten thouſand pounds to make the matter eaſy to thoſe officers who were to ſucceed, which ſum, his Grace told me, the Treaſurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded preſent want of money: And, I cannot but ſay, that, having often, at the Duke's deſire, preſſed this miniſter to advance the money, he gave me ſuch anſwers as made me think he really intended it: But I was quickly undeceived; for, expoſtulating ſome days after with him upon the ſame ſubject, after great expreſſions of eſteem and friendſhip for the Duke of Ormond, and mentioning ſome ill-treatment he had received from his friends, he ſaid, he knew not why he ſhould do other people's work. The truth is, that, except the Duke, my Lord Trevor, and Mr. Secretary Bromley, I could not find he had one friend left of any conſequence in her Majeſty's ſervice. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Maſham, openly declared againſt him; to whom were joined the Biſhop of * Ro-

* Dr. Atterbury.

cheſter and ſome others. Dartmouth, then Privy-ſeal, and Paulet, Lord Steward, ſtood neuters. The Duke of Shrewſbury hated the Treaſurer, but ſacrificed all reſentments to eaſe, profit, and power; and was then in Ireland acting a part directly oppoſite to the Court, which he had ſagacity enough to foreſee might quickly turn to account; ſo that the Earl of Oxford ſtood almoſt ſingle, and every day found a viſible declenſion of the Queen's favour towards him; which he took but little care to redreſs, deſiring nothing ſo much as leave to deliver up his ſtaff. Which, however, as conjunctures then ſtood, he was not able to obtain; his adverſaries not having determined where to place it: Neither was it, upon ſeveral accounts, a work ſo proper to be done, while the parliament ſate, where the miniſtry had already loſt too much reputation, and eſpecially in the Houſe of Lords. By what I could gather from ſeveral diſcourſes with the Treaſurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reaſoned with himſelf. The Church-party continued violently bent to have ſome neceſſary removals made in the guards, as well as a further change in the civil *employments* through the kingdom. All

the great officers about the court, or in her Majeſty's ſervice, except the Duke of Shrewſbury and one or two more, were in the ſame opinion; the Queen herſelf, ſince her laſt illneſs at Windſor, had the like diſpoſitions; and, I think, it may appear from ſeveral paſſages already mentioned, that the blame of thoſe delays, ſo often complained of, did not originally lie at the Earl of Oxford's door. But the ſtate of things was very much changed by ſeveral incidents: The Chancellor, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lady Maſham, had entirely forſaken him, upon ſuſpicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on miſtake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear; and, as he firſt leſſened his confidence with the Queen, by preſſing her upon thoſe very points, for which his friends accuſed him that they were not performed; ſo, upon her change of ſentiments, after her recovery, he loſt all favour and credit with her, for not ſeconding thoſe new reſolutions from which ſhe had formerly been ſo averſe. Beſides, he knew as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly poſſible the Queen could ſurvive many months; in which caſe, he *muſt of* neceſſity bring upon him the odi-

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um and vengeance of the ſucceſſor, and of that party which muſt then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done: Or, if her Majeſty ſhould hold out longer than it was reaſonable to expect, yet, after having done a work that muſt procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be diſcharged in diſpleaſure. Upon theſe reaſons he continued his excuſes to the Duke of Ormond, for not advancing the money; and, during the ſix laſt months of his miniſtry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the buſineſs of his office. That whole period was nothing elſe but a ſcene of murmuring and diſcontent, quarrel and miſunderſtanding, animoſity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the meantime the Queen's countenance was wholly changed towards him; ſhe complained of his ſilence and ſullenneſs; and, in return, gave him every day freſh inſtances of neglect or diſpleaſure.

The original of this quarrel among the miniſters, which had been attended with ſo many ill conſequences, began firſt between the Treaſurer and Lord Bolingbroke, *from the cauſes* and incidents I have al-

Windſor, and every day after her return, to finiſh this affair, as a point of great conſequence to the church in that kingdom; and, growing at length impatient of ſo many excuſes, I fell into ſome paſſion, when his Lordſhip freely told me, that he had been earneſt with the Queen, upon *that* matter, about ten times the laſt fortnight, but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end. This happened about eleven weeks before the Queen died: And, two nights after, ſitting with him and Lord Bolingbroke, in Lady Maſham's lodgings at St. James's, for ſome hours; I told the Treaſurer, that, having deſpaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only ſtaid ſome time longer to forward the diſpoſal of thoſe biſhopricks in Ireland, which ſince his Lordſhip told me was out of his power; I now reſolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redreſs, nor endure the ſight of: That, before I left them, I deſired they would anſwer me two queſtions: Firſt, Whether theſe miſchiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? And, ſecondly, Whether, upon the preſent foot, the miniſtry would not be infallibly *ruined* in two months? Lord Bolingbroke

anſwered

anſwered to each queſtion in the affirmative, and approved of my reſolution to retire; but the Treaſurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only deſired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in Berkſhire, to await the iſſue, which ended in the removal of my Lord Treaſurer, and, three days after, in her Majeſty's death.

Thus I have, with ſome pains, recollected ſeveral paſſages, which I thought were moſt material for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who appear ſo much at a loſs upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late miniſtry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to ſee perſons of great and undiſputed abilities, called by the Queen to her ſervice, in the place of others with whoſe proceedings ſhe was diſguſted, and with great ſatisfaction to the clergy, the landed intereſt, and body of the people, running, on a ſudden, into ſuch a common beaten court-track of ruin, by diviſions among themſelves; not only without a viſible cauſe, but with the ſtrongeſt appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the uſual excuſe of evil inſtruments, or cunning adverſaries, to blow the coals

of diſſention; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cauſe of theſe misfortunes to the Queen, who, from the variety of hands ſhe had employed, and reaſonings ſhe had heard ſince her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating ſchemes, which, as things then ſtood, were by no means reducible to practice; ſhe had likewiſe a good ſhare of that adherence to her own opinions, which is uſually charged upon her ſex. And, laſtly, (as I before obſerved) having received ſome hints that ſhe had formerly been too much governed, ſhe grew very difficult to be adviſed.

The next in fault was the Treaſurer, who, not being able to influence the Queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom ſeemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himſelf, from a known principle of ſtate-prudence, that a firſt miniſter muſt always preſerve the reputation of power: But I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politics, which, at ſome conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The *Queen* was by no means inclined to make

many

many changes in employments; ſhe was poſitive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And ſurely theſe were no proper qualities for a chief miniſter to perſonate towards his neareſt friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promiſes. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preſerving at the expence of bringing ſincerity into queſtion. I remember, upon a Saturday, when the miniſters and one or two friends of the Treaſurer conſtantly met to dine, at his houſe, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain Lord, who perpetually oppoſed the Queen's meaſures, was not diſmiſſed from a great employment, which, beſides other advantages, gave that Lord the power of chuſing ſeveral members of parliament. The Treaſurer evaded the matter with his uſual anſwer, that this was whipping day: Upon which the Secretary Bolingbroke, turning to me, ſaid, It was a ſtrange thing that my Lord Oxford would not be ſo kind to his friends, and ſo juſt to his own innocence, as to vindicate himſelf where he had no blame; for, to his knowledge and the Chancellor's, (who was then alſo preſent) *the Treaſurer* had frequently and earneſtly

earneſtly moved the Queen upon that very point without effect: Whereupon, this Miniſter finding himſelf preſſed ſo far, told the company, that he had at laſt prevailed with her Majeſty, and the thing would be done in two days, which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an inſtance of the Earl of Oxford's diſpoſition to preſerve ſome reputation of power in himſelf, and remove all blame from the Queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent caſe; but how far juſtifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the Treaſurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himſelf: He had abundance of merit with them all, not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the miniſtry having been effected without any intervention of theirs, by him and Lady Maſham; but, likewiſe, from the conſequence of that change, whereby the greateſt employments of the kingdom were divided among them, and therefore, in common juſtice as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than ſuſpect him of imaginary ones, as they *often did*, through ignorance, refinement,

or miſtake: And I mention it to the honour of the Secretary Bolingbroke, as well as of the Treaſurer, that having myſelf, upon many occaſions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the Earl's conduct upon certain points, the Secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether miſtaken.

Laſtly, I cannot excuſe the remiſſneſs of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it ſhould have been, as it certainly was their intereſt, to have interpoſed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the miniſters: But of this I have already ſpoken.

CHAPTER II.

Written about a Year after.

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unneceſſary to ſay any thing upon the other head, relating to the deſign of bringing in the Pretender: For, upon the Earl of Oxford's impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing *ſide aſſured me,* that the whole myſtery would

would be ſoon laid open to the world, and were ready to place the merit of their cauſe upon that iſſue: This diſcovery we all expected from the Report of the Secret Committee: But, when that treatiſe appeared, (whoever were the compilers) we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an abſolute ſtate-pamphlet, arguing for a cauſe, than a dry recital of facts, or a tranſcript of letters; and, for what related to the Pretender, the authors contented themſelves with informing the public, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on in perſonal treaties between the Earl of Oxford and the Abbé Gaultier, which muſt needs be a doctrine hard of digeſtion to thoſe who have the leaſt knowledge either of the Earl or the Abbé, or upon what foot the latter ſtood at that time with the Engliſh miniſtry: I conceive that whoever is at diſtance enough to be out of fear either of a vote or a meſſenger, will be as eaſily brought to believe all the Popiſh legends together. And to make ſuch an aſſertion, in a public report delivered to the Houſe of Commons, without the leaſt attempt to prove it, will ſome time or other be reckoned ſuch a ſtrain upon truth and probabilit

ability as is hard to be equalled in a Spaniſh romance. I think it will be allowed, that the articles of high treaſon drawn up againſt the Earl were not altogether founded upon the report, or at leaſt that thoſe important hints about bringing in the Pretender were more proper materials to furniſh out a pamphlet than an impeachment; ſince this accuſation hath no part even among the high crimes and miſdemeanors.

But, notwithſtanding all this, and that the Earl of Oxford, after two years reſidence in the Tower, was at length diſmiſſed without any trial; yet the reproach ſtill went on, that the Queen's laſt miniſtry, in concert with their Miſtreſs, were deeply engaged in a deſign to ſet the Pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accuſation I impute to the great goodneſs of thoſe in power, who are ſo gracious to aſſign a reaſon, or at leaſt give a countenance for that ſudden and univerſal ſweep they thought fit to make on their firſt appearance; whereas they might as well have ſpared that ceremony, by a ſhort recourſe to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of chuſing *what ſervants he will.*

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There are two points which I believe myſelf able to make out. Firſt, that neither the late Queen nor her miniſters did ever entertain a deſign of bringing in the Pretender during her Majeſty's life, or that he ſhould ſucceed after her deceaſe.

Secondly, that if they conceived ſuch a deſign, it was abſolutely neceſſary to proſecute it from the firſt year of their miniſtry; becauſe, for at leaſt a year before the Queen's death, it was impoſſible to have put ſuch a deſign in execution.

I muſt premiſe with three circumſtances which have a great effect on me, and muſt have the like upon thoſe among my friends who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only to thoſe that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, diſcourſing at ſeveral times with ſome very eminent perſons of the oppoſite ſide, with whom I had long acquaintance, I aſked them ſeriouſly, whether they or any of their friends did in earneſt believe, or ſuſpect, the Queen or the miniſtry to have any favourable regards towards the Pretender? They all confeſſed for themſelves, that they believed nothing of the matter; *and particularly* a perſon, at preſent in

t employment, ſaid to me with much kneſs, " You ſet up the Church and everel againſt us, and we ſet up Trade the Pretender againſt you."

ıe ſecond point I would obſerve is this, during the courſe of the late miniſ- upon occaſion of the libels every day wn about, I had the curioſity to aſk ſt every perſon in great employment, her they knew, or had heard, of any particular man (except thoſe who pro- d to be Nonjurors) that diſcovered the inclination towards the Pretender; the whole number they could muſter lid not amount to above five or ſix, ng which one was a certain old Lord y dead, and one a private gentleman, ittle conſequence, and of a broken ıne: Yet I do not believe myſelf to : omitted any one great man that came ıy way, except the Duke of Bucking- , in whoſe company I never was above or twice at moſt: I am, therefore, as ident as a man can be of any truth :h will not admit a demonſtration, that ı the Queen's death, if we except Pa- and Nonjurors, there could not be five dred perſons in England, of all ranks, had *any thoughts* of the Pretender,

and among theſe, not ſix of any quality or conſequence: But how it hath come to paſs that ſeveral millions are ſaid to have ſince changed their ſentiments, it ſhall not be my part to enquire.

The laſt point is of the ſame ſtrain, and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only thoſe who are willing to believe me on my own word; that having been, for the ſpace of almoſt four years, very nearly and perpetually converſant with thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare of power, and this, in their times of leiſure as well as buſineſs, I could never hear one ſingle word to be let fall in favour of the Pretender, although I was curious enough to obſerve, in a particular manner, what paſſed upon that ſubject. And I cannot but think, that, if ſuch an affair had been in agitation, I muſt have had either very bad luck, or a very ſmall ſhare of common underſtanding, not to have diſcovered ſome grounds, at leaſt, for ſuſpicion. Becauſe I never yet knew a miniſter of ſtate, or indeed any other man, ſo great a maſter of ſecrecy, as to be able, among thoſe he nearly converſed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his deſigns. This I ſay, upon a ſuppoſition that they would have held on

the maſk always before me, which, however, I have no reaſon to believe. And, I confeſs, it is with the expence of ſome patience that I hear this matter ſummarily determined by thoſe who had no advantages of knowing any thing that paſſed, otherwiſe than what they found in a libel or a coffee-houſe; or, at beſt, from general reaſonings built upon miſtaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto ſaid upon this point can have no influence further than my own perſonal credit reacheth, yet, I confeſs, I ſhall never be brought to change my opinion, till ſome one, who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any ſingle particular from the letters, the diſcourſes, or the actions of thoſe miniſters, as a proof of what they alledge, which hath not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be ſeveral arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident to thoſe who will hear reaſon, that the Queen's miniſters never had it in their thoughts to alter the ſucceſſion of the crown.

For, firſt, when her Majeſty had determined to change her ſervants, it is very well known that thoſe, whom ſhe appoint-

ed to ſucceed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the Low-church party, not only my Lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt, but a great majority of the reſt: Among which I can immediately name the Dukes of Shrewſbury, Newcaſtle, and Argyle; the Earls of Peterborow, Rivers, Strafford, Ilay, and Orrery; the Lords Manſel, and Maſham, with ſeveral others whom I cannot at preſent recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the Dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, and the Earl of Dartmouth, were the only perſons introduced at firſt, and very few afterwards: Which, I ſuppoſe, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the Pretender was not the original ſcheme of ſuch miniſters, and that they were by no means proper inſtruments for ſuch a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the Queen's diſpoſition, muſt believe ſhe had no inclinations at all in favour of the Pretender: She was highly and publicly diſpleaſed with my Lord Bolingbroke, becauſe he was ſeen under the ſame roof with that perſon at an opera, when his Lordſhip was ſent to France upon ſome difficulties about the peace: Her Majeſty ſaid, that he *ought* immediately to have withdrawn,

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upon the appearance of the other; wherein, to ſpeak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little miſtaken. And, at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the Chevalier, ſhe would frequently let fall expreſſions of ſuch a nature, that made it manifeſt how little ſhe deſerved thoſe reproaches which have been caſt on her ſince her death, upon that account.

Beſides, I have already ſaid that her Majeſty began thoſe changes at court for no other cauſe than her perſonal diſpleaſure againſt a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope ſhe had to obtain a peace, by the removal of ſome whoſe intereſt it was to obſtruct it: That when the former Chancellor, Preſident, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, ſhe preſſed them ſomewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their ſtations; of which, I ſuppoſe, my Lord Cowper is yet a living witneſs.

I am forced to repeat what I have before obſerved, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty ſhe could be ever perſuaded to diſmiſs any perſon upon the ſcore of party, and that ſhe drove her miniſters into the greateſt diſtreſs, upon my Lord Notting-

ham's vote againſt any peace without Spain, for want of ſpeaking to one or two depending Lords, although with the laſt danger of breaking the meaſures ſhe was moſt fond of towards ſettling the repoſe of Europe. She had, beſides, upon the removal of the Ducheſs of Marlborough, choſen another * great Lady to ſucceed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her miniſters together: A lady openly profeſſing the utmoſt averſion from the perſons, the principles, and meaſures of thoſe who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own ſex, in every art of inſinuation: And this her Majeſty thought fit to do, in oppoſition to the ſtrongeſt repreſentations that could poſſibly be made to her, of the inconveniences which would enſue. Her only objection againſt ſeveral clergymen, recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party. And a Lady, in high favour with her, hath frequently aſſured me, that whenever ſhe moved the Queen to diſcard ſome perſons, who, upon all occaſions, with great virulence, oppoſed the court; her Majeſty would conſtantly

* Ducheſs of Somerſet.

refuſe,

refuſe, and, at the ſame time, condemn her for too much party-zeal.

But, beſide all this, there never was a more ſtale or antiquated cauſe than that of the Pretender, at the time when her Majeſty choſe her laſt miniſters, who were moſt of them children or youths, when King James II. abdicated: They found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themſelves with ſpeculations upon government; and, conſequently, could have no ſcruples of conſcience in ſubmitting to the preſent powers, ſince they hardly remembered any other. And, truly, this was in general the caſe of the whole kingdom: For the adherents of King James II. were all either dead or in exile, or ſunk in obſcurity, laden with years and want; ſo that if any guilt were contracted by the Revolution, it was generally underſtood that our anceſtors were only to anſwer for it. And I am confident, with an exception to profeſſed Nonjurors, there was not one man in ten thouſand, through England, who had other ſentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing the prodigious diſaffection at preſent, becauſe the ſame *thing hath happened* before from the ſame

cauſes in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the ſame event.

But ſuch a diſaffection could hardly have been raiſed againſt an abſent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and, indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very ſtrong argument for the good diſpoſition, both in the miniſtry and kingdom, towards the Houſe of Hanover, that, during my Lord Oxford's adminiſtration, there was never thrown out the leaſt reflection againſt that illuſtrious Houſe, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the ſmall party-writers could have thought, that, by ſuch a performance, they would have made their court to thoſe in power; and which would certainly have been a very uſeful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended towards altering the ſucceſſion to the crown. But, however, to ſay the truth, invectives againſt the abſent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render perſons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: For hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience hath ſhewn. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince

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to be hated than deſpiſed, yet that maxim is better calculated for an abſolute monarchy than for the climate of England. But I am ſenſible this is a digreſſion; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her Majeſty with France and Spain, were calculated in ſeveral points directly againſt the Pretender, as he hath now found to his coſt, and as it is manifeſt to all the world. Neither could any thing be more ſuperficial than the politics of thoſe who could be brought to think that the Regent of France would ever engage in meaſures againſt the preſent King of England, and how the grimace of an ambaſſador's taking or not taking his public character, as in the caſe of the Earl of Stairs, ſhould ſerve ſo long for an amuſement, cannot ſufficiently be wondered at. What can be plainer than that the chief intereſt of the Duke of Orleans is woven and twiſted with that of King George; and this, Whether it ſhall be thought convenient to ſuffer the young King of France to live longer, or not? For, in the ſecond caſe, the Regent perfectly agrees with our preſent King in this particular circumſtance, that the whole *order of ſucceſſion* hath been broken for

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his ſake; by which means he likewiſe will be encumbered with a Pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the ſtrongeſt motives, to prevent the union of France and Spain under one monarch. And, even in the other caſe, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs-male of his body, is ſo dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the Regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with England.

And, as this deſign was originally intended and avowed by the Queen's miniſters, in their treaties with France and Spain, ſo the events have fully anſwered in every particular. The preſent King ſucceeded to theſe crowns with as hearty and univerſal a diſpoſition of the people, as could poſſibly conſiſt with the grief for the loſs of ſo gracious and excellent a Princeſs as her late Majeſty: The parliament was moſt unanimous in doing every thing that could endear them to a new Monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any deſign which France or Spain might probably have laid to make a diverſion by an invaſion upon Scotland, with the Pretender *at the* head, in caſe her Majeſty had happened

pened to die during the courſe of the war: And, upon the death of the late French King, the Duke of Orleans fell immediately into the ſtricteſt meaſures with England; as the Queen and her miniſters eaſily foreſaw it would be neceſſary for him to do, from every reaſon that could regard his own intereſt. If the Queen had died but a ſhort time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged againſt us had thought fit to have thrown ſome troops into Scotland, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumſtance to a ſucceſſor and a ſtranger, yet the univerſal inclinations at that time in England towards the houſe of Hanover, would, in all probability, have prevented the conſequences of ſuch an enterprize. But, on the other ſide, if the war had continued a year longer than her Majeſty's life, and the ſame cauſes had been applied to produce the ſame effects upon the affections of the people, the iſſue muſt inevitably have been either a long and bloody civil war, or a ſudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the preſent King's title, and ſecure his poſſeſſion, than that very *peace ſo much* exploded by one party, and

ſo

ſo juſtly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the preſent ſituation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jeſt.

But if any articles of that peace were like to endanger the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, how could it come to paſs that the Dutch, who were guarantees of *that* ſucceſſion, and valued for zealous defenders of it, ſhould be ſo ready with their offers to comply with every article, and this for no greater a reward than a ſhare in the Aſſiento trade, which the oppoſers of peace repreſented to be only a trifle. That the fact is true I appeal to Monſieur de Buys, who, upon ſome difficulties the miniſtry were under by the Earl of Nottingham's vote againſt any peace while Spain continued in the Bourbon family, undertook to make that matter eaſy, by getting a full approbation from the States, his maſters, of all her Majeſty's proceedings, provided they might be ſharers in that trade. I can add this further, that ſome months after the concluſion of the peace, and amidſt all the appearing diſcontents of the Dutch, a gentleman who had long reſided in Holland, and was occaſionally employed by the

the miniſters here, aſſured me that he had power from the Penſioner to treat with the Earl of Oxford, about ſending hither an extraordinary embaſſy from Holland, to declare that the States were fully ſatiſfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which were eaſy and honourable, and ſuch as had no relation at all to the Pretender. How this happened to fail, I never enquired, nor had any diſcourſe about it with thoſe in power. For then their affairs were growing deſperate, by their quarrels among themſelves, and by the Earl of Oxford's declination in the Queen's favour; both which became ſo public, as well as her Majeſty's bad ſtate of health, that, I ſuppoſe, thoſe circumſtances might eaſily cool the Dutch politicians in that purſuit.

I remember to have heard it objected againſt the late miniſtry, as an inſtance of their inclination towards the Pretender, that they were careleſs in cultivating a good correſpondence with the Houſe of Hanover. And, on the other ſide, I know very well what continual pains were employed to ſatisfy and inform the Elector and his miniſters in every ſtep taken by *her Majeſty*, and what offers were made

to

to his Highneſs for any further ſecurities of the ſucceſſion in him and his family, that could conſiſt with the honour and ſafety of the Queen. To this purpoſe were all the inſtructions given to Earl Rivers, Mr. Thomas Harley, Lord Clarendon, and ſome others. But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a fooliſh circumſtance, which hath often made me remember the common obſervation, of the greateſt events depending frequently upon the loweſt, vileſt, and obſcureſt cauſes: And this is never more verified than in courts, and the iſſues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and obſervation, three or four very ſurprizing inſtances. I have ſeen an old * bedmaker, by officiouſly going to one door when gratitude as well as common ſenſe ſhould have ſent her to another, become the inſtrument of putting the nation to the expence of ſome thouſand lives, and ſeveral millions of money. I have known as great an event from the ſtupidity, or wilfulneſs of a beggarly † Dutchman, who

* Mrs. Foiſſon, neceſſary-woman to the Queen, preferred to that employment by my Lady Maſham.

† *Carew* Lord Hunſden, born and bred in Holland.

lingered

lingered on purpoſe half an hour at a viſit, when he had promiſed to be ſomewhere elſe. Of no greater dignity was that circumſtance, which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late miniſtry to eſtabliſh themſelves in the good graces of the court of Hanover, as I ſhall particularly relate in another work. It may ſuffice to hint at preſent, that a delay in conveying a very inconſiderable ſum, to a very inconſiderable French * vagrant, gave the opportunity to a more induſtrious party, of corrupting that channel through which all the ideas of the diſpoſitions and deſigns of the Queen, the miniſters, and the whole Britiſh nation were conveyed.

The ſecond point which I conceive myſelf able to make out, is this: That, if the Queen's miniſters had, with or without the knowledge of their Miſtreſs, entertained any thoughts of altering the ſucceſſion in favour of the Pretender, it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to have begun, and proſecuted that deſign, as ſoon as they came into her Majeſty's ſervice.

* Robithan, then at Hanover, but in the ſervice of ſome other German Prince, it is not known how, got into ſome credit with the Elector.

There

There were two circumſtances which would have made it neceſſary for them to have loſt no time. Firſt, becauſe it was a work that could not poſſibly be done on a ſudden. For the whole nation, almoſt to a man, excepting profeſſed Nonjurors, had conceived the utmoſt abhorrence of a Popiſh ſucceſſor. And, as I have already obſerved, the ſcruple of conſcience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated Nonjurors, who lay ſtarving in obſcurity. So that, in order to have brought ſuch an affair about in a parliamentary way, ſome years muſt have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one perſon odious and another amiable; neither of which is to be ſoon compaſſed towards abſent princes, unleſs by comparing them with thoſe of whom we have had experience, which was not *then* the caſe.

The other circumſtance was the bad condition of the Queen's health; her Majeſty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other diſorders, increaſing on her; ſo that whoever was near the court, for about the two laſt years of her reign, might boldly have

fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to propheſy. And how little a time the miniſters had for ſo great a work as that of changing the ſucceſſion of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been, may be judged from the umbrage taken by ſeveral Lords of the Church-party, in the laſt year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehenſion that the very quarrels among the miniſters might poſſibly be of ſome diſadvantage to the Houſe of Hanover. And the univerſal declaration, both among Lords and Commons, at that time, as well in favour of the Elector as againſt the Pretender, are an argument beyond all conviction that ſome years muſt have been ſpent in altering the diſpoſitions of the people. Upon this occaſion, I ſhall not ſoon forget what a great miniſter then ſaid to me, and which I have been ſince aſſured was likewiſe the Duke of Shrewſbury's opinion, That there could be no doubt of the Elector's undiſturbed ſucceſſion; but the chief difficulty lay in the future diſaffection of the church, and people, and landed intereſt, from that univerſal change of men and meaſures, which he *foreſaw would* arrive. And it muſt be,

to all impartial men, above a thouſand witneſſes, how innocent her Majeſty's ſervants were upon this article; that, knowing ſo well through what channels all favour was to paſs upon the Queen's demiſe, that, by their coming into power, they had utterly, and for ever, broken all meaſures with the oppoſite party; and that, in the beginning of their adminiſtration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which ſome future circumſtances would not have failed to cultivate; yet their actions ſhewed them ſo far from any view towards the Pretender, that they neglected purſuing thoſe meaſures which they had conſtantly in their power, not only of ſecuring themſelves, but the intereſt of the church, without any violence to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the perſon of the Elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only diſgrace of their miniſtry. To prevent this evil was, I confeſs, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were eaſy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince by a readineſs to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by

another party, however profeſſing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party acting in oppoſition to the true intereſt of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be diſtinguiſhed by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for perſonal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge. Of which truth Greece and Rome, as well as many other ſtates, will furniſh plenty of examples. This reflection I could not well forbear, although it may be of little uſe further than to diſcover my own reſentment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or courage.

I muſt here take notice of an accuſation charged upon the late miniſtry, by the Houſe of Commons, that they put a lie, or falſehood, into the Queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr. Thomas Harley was ſent to the Elector of Hanover with inſtructions, to offer his Highneſs any further ſecurities, for ſettling the ſucceſſion in him and his family, that could conſiſt with her Majeſty's honour and ſafety. This gentleman writ a letter to the Secretary of State, a little before his return

from Hanover, ſignifying in direct terms, that the Elector expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied in the Queen's proceedings, and deſired to live in confidence with her. He writ to the ſame purpoſe to one of the under-ſecretaries, and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleaſed him, and what he deſired might be as public as poſſible. Both theſe letters I have read; and the Queen, as ſhe had reaſon to ſuppoſe, being ſufficiently authorized by this notice from her miniſter, made mention of that information in a ſpeech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr. Harley to have been charged with. From what hath ſince paſſed in the world, I ſhould indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment in his Highneſs, and perhaps underſtood to be ſo by the Queen; but, without queſtion, her Majeſty had a fair excuſe to take the Elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And if this be ſo, the imputation of falſehood muſt remain where theſe accuſers of that excellent Princeſs's veracity will, I ſuppoſe, not profeſs (at leaſt) an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, *wherein*, as I ſaid, all my little politics terminated,

minated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the miniſters were of the ſame opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it had pleaſed God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already obſerved how well it was known at court what meaſures the Elector intended to follow, whenever his ſucceſſion ſhould take place; and what hands he would employ in the adminiſtration of his affairs. I have likewiſe mentioned ſome facts and reaſons, which influenced and fixed his Highneſs in that determination, notwithſtanding all poſſible endeavours to divert him from it. Now, if we conſider the diſpoſitions of England at that time, when almoſt the whole body of the clergy, a vaſt majority of the landed intereſt, and of the people in general, were of the Church-party; it muſt be granted that one or two acts, which might have paſſed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the ſucceſſor to have procured a Houſe of Commons of a different ſtamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the uſual arts to gain parliaments can hardly be applied *with ſucceſs* after the election, againſt

a majority, at leaſt, of three in four; becauſe the trouble and expence would be too great, beſide the loſs of reputation. For, neither could ſuch a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at ſo much charge and hazard merely for the ſake of governing by a ſmall party, againſt the bent and genius of the nation. And, as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been ſufficiently provided for by the ſcheme intended. I ſuppoſe it need not be added, that the government of England cannot move a ſtep while the Houſe of Commons continues to diſlike proceedings, or perſons employed, at leaſt in an age where parliaments are grown ſo frequent, and are made ſo neceſſary: Whereas a miniſter is but the creature of a day; and a Houſe of Lords hath been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will ſoon comprehend how eaſily the legiſlature, at that time, could have provided againſt the power and influence of a court, or miniſtry, in future elections, without the leaſt injury to the ſucceſſion, and even without the *modern invention* of perpetuating themſelves; which

which, however, I muſt needs grant to be one of the moſt effectual, vigorous, and reſolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under King Charles I. although it ſhould be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I muſt again urge and repeat, that thoſe who charge the Earl of Oxford, and the reſt of that miniſtry, with a deſign of altering the ſucceſſion of the crown in favour of the Pretender, will, perhaps, be at ſome difficulty to fix the time when that deſign was in agitation: For, if ſuch an attempt had begun with their power, it is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon why it did not ſucceed; becauſe there were certain periods when her Majeſty and her ſervants were extremely popular, and the Houſe of Hanover not altogether ſo much, upon account of ſome behaviour and management in one or two of their miniſters here, and ſome other circumſtances that may better be paſſed over in ſilence: All which, however, had no other conſequence than that of repeated meſſages of kindneſs, and aſſurance to the Elector. During the laſt two years of the Queen's life, her health was in ſuch a condition, that it was won-

dered how ſhe could hold out ſo long: And then, as I have already obſerved, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprize which required ſo much time, and which the miniſters themſelves had rendered impracticable, by the whole courſe of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of thoſe diſſentions which had early riſen among them.

The party now in power will eaſily agree that this deſign of overthrowing the ſucceſſion could not be owing to any principle of conſcience in thoſe whom they accuſe; for they knew very well, by their own experience and obſervation, that ſuch kind of ſcruples have given but ſmall diſturbance of laté years in theſe kingdoms. Since intereſt is therefore the only teſt by which we are to judge the intentions of thoſe who manage public affairs, it would have been but reaſonable to have ſhewn how the intereſt of the Queen's miniſters could be advanced by introducing the Pretender, before they were charged with ſuch an intention. Her Majeſty was ſeveral years younger than her intended ſucceſſor, and, at the beginning of that miniſtry had no diſorders, except the gout, which

which is not uſually reckoned a ſhortner of life; and thoſe in chief truſt were, generally ſpeaking, older than their Miſtreſs: So that no perſons had ever a fairer proſpect of running on the natural life of an Engliſh miniſtry; conſidering, likewiſe, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an inſtance in hiſtory of a ſet of men, in full poſſeſſion of power, ſo ſanguine as to form an enterprize of overthrowing the government, without the viſible proſpect of a general defection, which (then at leaſt) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a miniſtry in ſuch circumſtances durſt engage in ſo dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their ſovereign. And as to the perſons then in ſervice, if they may be allowed to have common ſenſe, they would much ſooner have ſurrendered their employments than hazard the loſs of their heads at ſo great odds, before they had tried or changed the diſpoſition of the parliament; which is an *accuſation*, that, I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them, at leaſt till towards the end of their miniſtry, and then very abſurdly, becauſe the want of time,

and

and other circumſtances, rendered ſuch a work impoſſible, for ſeveral reaſons which I have already related.

And whoever conſiders the late Queen, ſo little enterpriſing in her nature, ſo much given to delay, and at the ſame time ſo obſtinate in her opinions, (as *reſtineſs* is commonly attended with ſlowneſs) ſo great a purſuer of peace and quiet, and ſo exempt from the two powerful paſſions of love and hatred; will hardly think ſhe had a ſpirit turned for ſuch an undertaking; if we add to this, the contempt ſhe often expreſſed for the perſon and concerns of the Chevalier, her brother, of which I have already ſaid enough to be underſtood.

It hath been objected againſt the late Queen and her ſervants, as a mark of no favourable diſpoſition towards the Houſe of Hanover, that the Electoral Prince was not invited to reſide in England: And, at the ſame time, it ought to be obſerved that this objection was raiſed and ſpread by the leaders of that party, who firſt oppoſed the counſel of inviting him, offering, among other arguments againſt it, the example of Queen Elizabeth, who would not ſo much as ſuffer her ſucceſſor to be declared, expreſſing herſelf, that ſhe

would

ould not live with her grave-ſtone always
her ſight; although the caſe be by no
eans parallel between the two queens.
r, in her late Majeſty's reign, the crown
as as firmly ſettled on the Hanover Fa-
ily as the legiſlature could do it: And
ie queſtion was only, whether the pre-
mptive heir, of diſtant kindred, ſhould
eep his court in the ſame kingdom and
etropolis with the Sovereign, while the
ation was torn between different parties,
be at the head of that faction, which her
lajeſty and the body of her people utterly
iſapproved: And, therefore, the leaders
n both ſides, when they were in power,
id poſitively determine this queſtion in
ie negative. And, if we may be allowed
judge by events, the reaſons were cogent
nough; ſince differences may happen
ariſe between two princes the moſt
early allied in blood; although it be true
ideed, that, where the duty to a parent is
dded to the allegiance of a ſubject, the
onſequence of family-diſſentions may not
lways be conſiderable.

For my own part, I freely told my opi-
ion to the miniſters; and did afterwards
ffer many reaſons for it in a diſcourſe in-
:nded for the public, (but ſtopped by the
Queen's

Queen's death) that the young grandſon (whoſe name I cannot remember) ſhould be invited over to be educated in England; by which, I conceived, the Queen might be ſecure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the ſucceſſion in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of Engliſh manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true conſtitution of church and ſtate. And this was the judgment of thoſe at the helm before I offered it: Neither were they or their Miſtreſs to be blamed, that ſuch a reſolution was not purſued. Perhaps, from what hath ſince happened, the reader will be able to ſatisfy himſelf.

I have now ſaid all I could think convenient (conſidering the time wherein I am writing) upon thoſe two points, which I propoſed to diſcourſe on; wherein I have dealt with the utmoſt impartiality, and, I think, upon the faireſt ſuppoſition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their intereſts and their paſſions: For I am not ſo weak as to think one miniſtry more virtuous than another, unleſs by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue

of

of the prince; which laſt, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little uſe, when factions are violent. But it ſo falls out, that, among contending parties in England, the general intereſt of church and ſtate is more the private intereſt of one ſide than the other; ſo that, whoever profeſſeth to act upon a principle of obſerving the laws of his country, may have a ſafe rule to follow, by diſcovering whoſe particular advantage it chiefly is, that the conſtitution ſhould be preſerved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly ſpeaking, be above two parties in ſuch a government as ours; and one ſide will find themſelves obliged to take in all the ſubaltern denominations of thoſe who diſlike the preſent eſtabliſhment, in order to make themſelves a balance againſt the other; and ſuch a party, compoſed of mixed bodies, although they differ widely in the ſeveral fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public intereſt; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or ill-*deſigning prince*, will probably, by the

aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance of time or force, become the ma-
jority, unleſs they be prevented by a ſteadi-
neſs, which there is little reaſon to hope
or by ſome revolution, which there is much
more reaſon to fear. For abuſes in admini-
ſtration may laſt much longer than politi-
cians ſeem to be aware of; eſpecially where
ſome bold ſteps are made to corrupt the
very fountain of power and legiſlature:
In which caſe, as it may happen in ſome
ſtates, the whole body of the people are
drawn in, by their own ſuppoſed conſent,
to be their own enſlavers; and, where
will they find a thread to wind themſelves
out of this labyrinth? Or, will they not
rather wiſh to be governed by arbitrary
power, after the manner of other nations?
For whoever conſiders the courſe of the
Roman Empire after Cæſar's uſurpation,
the long continuance of the Turkiſh go-
vernment, or the deſtruction of the Gothic
balance in moſt kingdoms of Europe, will
eaſily ſee how controlable that maxim is,
that, *res nolunt diu malè adminiſtrari:* Becauſe,
as corruptions are more natural to man-
kind than perfections, ſo they are more
likely to have a longer continuance. For
the vices of men, conſidered as individuals,
are exactly the ſame when they are mold-

ed

ed into bodies; nor otherwiſe to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which, when any great breaches are made, the conſequence will be the ſame as in the life of a particular man, whoſe vices are ſeldom known to end but with himſelf.

THE

THE ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE of LORDS to the QUEEN.

[Drawn up by Dr. SWIFT, at the Command of the LORD TREASURER, and delivered by the DUKE of GRAFTON.]

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, do, with the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction, return our humble thanks to your Majeſty for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, and for communicating to this Houſe that peace is agreed on, ſo honourable to your Majeſty, and ſafe and advantageous to your kingdoms; by which we hope, with the bleſſing of God, that your people will, in a few years, recover themſelves, after ſo long and expenſive a war. We likewiſe beg leave to congratulate with your Majeſty upon the ſucceſs of your endeavours for a general peace; whereby the tranquillity and welfare of Europe will be *owing* (next to the Divine Providence) to

ur Majeſty's wiſdom and goodneſs. We ver had the leaſt doubt but that your ıjeſty, who is the greateſt ornament and ɔtector of the Proteſtant Religion, would every thing for ſecuring the Proteſtant cceſſion; towards which nothing can be ɔre neceſſary than the perfect harmony ɔre is between your Majeſty and the ıuſe of Hanover. And we do humbly ıre your Majeſty, that, as you are pleaſ- to expreſs your dependence (next under d) upon the duty and affection of your ɔple; we think ourſelves bound, by the ıareſt ties of religion, loyalty, and gra- ıde, to make all returns that can be due, ɯ the moſt obedient ſubjects, to the ɯſt indulgent Sovereign.

AN

ANECDOTE

RELATIVE TO THE

PEACE OF UTRECHT.

ONE Dr. Helvetius was ſent from Paris, by Torcy to Devenwordt at the Hague, with the firſt propoſals for a peace ſeparate with Holland; a year after which the preliminaries, at Gertrudenberg, were tranſacted by the Mar. D'Uxelles and Polignac, and afterwards Menager was privately diſpatched to the ſame effect.

My Lord Strafford had the firſt intimation of theſe ſeparate tranſactions of France and Holland, from the Duke of Marlborough, (as a thing a good while before in agitation) and afterwards from Devenwordt himſelf, who told him that he ſent to Paris for Dr. Helvetius to cure him of a rheumatiſm, which opportunity Torcy took to negotiate by him.

Helvetius ſince confirmed the ſame ſtory to my Lord Strafford, in the year 1720.

A CO

A COPY OF Dr. SWIFT's MEMORIAL to the QUEEN.

APRIL 15, 1714.

THE change of miniſtry about four years ago, the fall of the Duke of Marlborough, and the proceedings ſince, in relation to the peace and treaties, are all capable of being very maliciouſly repreſented to poſterity, if they ſhould fall under the pen of ſome writer of the oppoſite party, as they probably may.

Upon theſe reaſons, it is neceſſary, for the honour of the Queen and in juſtice to her ſervants, that ſome able hand ſhould be immediately employed to write the hiſtory of her Majeſty's reign; that the truth of things may be tranſmitted to future ages, and bear down the falſehood of malicious pens.

The Dean of St. Patrick's is ready to undertake this work, humbly deſiring her Majeſty will pleaſe to appoint him her hiſtoriographer, not from any view of the

profit, (which is ſo inconſiderable that it will hardly ſerve to pay the expence of ſearching offices) but from an earneſt deſire to ſerve his Queen and country; for which that employment will qualify him, by an opportunity of acceſs to thoſe places where papers and records are kept, which will be neceſſary to any who undertake ſuch an hiſtory.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE

CONSEQUENCES HOPED and FEARED

FROM THE

DEATH of the QUEEN.

AUG. 9, 1714.

IN order to ſet in a clear light what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, it will be convenient to examine the ſtate of the nation with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done without ſome little retroſpection into the five laſt years of her late Majeſty's reign.

I have it from unqueſtionable authority, that the Ducheſs of Marlborough's favour began to decline very ſoon after the Queen's acceſſion to the throne, and that the Earl of Godolphin's held not much above two years longer; although her Majeſty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power until a long time after.

The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl *of Godolphin having* fallen early into the

intereſts of the lower party, for certain reaſons not ſeaſonable here to be mentioned, (but which may deſerve a place in the hiſtory of that reign) they made large ſteps that way upon the death of the Prince of Denmark, taking in ſeveral among the warmeſt leaders of that ſide, into the chief employments of the ſtate. Mr. Harley, then ſecretary of ſtate, who diſliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole ſcheme, was removed with the utmoſt indignation, and about the ſame time, Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. St. John, with ſome others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the Queen, who had then a great eſteem for the perſon and abilities of Mr. Harley (and in proportion of the other two, although at that time not equally known to her), was deprived of his ſervice with ſome regret, and upon that and other motives well known at court, began to think herſelf hardly uſed, and ſeveral ſtories ran about, whether true or falſe, that her Majeſty was not always treated with that duty ſhe might expect. Mean-time the church-party were loud in their complaints, ſurmiſing, from the virulence of ſeveral pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought

brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the ſacramental-teſt, from the avowed principles, and free ſpeeches of ſome perſons in power, and other jealouſies needleſs to repeat, that ill-deſigns were forming againſt the religion eſtabliſhed.

Theſe fears were all confirmed by the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, which drew the populace, as one man, into the party againſt the miniſtry and parliament.

The miniſtry were very ſuſpicious, that the Queen had ſtill a reſerve of favour for Mr. Harley, which appeared by a paſſage that happened ſome days after his removal: For, the Earl of Godolphin's coach and his happening to meet near Kenſington, the Earl a few hours after reproached the Queen, that ſhe privately admitted Mr. Harley, and was not without ſome difficulty undeceived by her Majeſty's aſſeverations to the contrary.

Soon after the Doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the Queen's command and the intervention of Mrs. Maſham, was brought up the back-ſtairs; and that Princeſs, ſpirited by the addreſſes from all parts, which ſhewed the inclinations of her ſubjects to be very averſe from the proceedings in court and *parliament,* was reſolved to break the uni-

ted power of the Marlborough and Godolphin families, and to begin this work, by taking the diſpoſal of employments into her own hands: for which an opportunity happened by the death of the Earl of Eſſex, lieutenant of the tower, whoſe employment was given to the Earl Rivers, to the great diſcontent of the Duke of Marlborough, who intended it for the Duke of Northumberland, then colonel of the Oxford regiment, to which the Earl of Hartford was to ſucceed. Some time after, the chamberlain's ſtaff was diſpoſed of to the Duke of Shrewſbury in the abſence, and without the privity of the Earl of Godolphin. The Earl of Sunderland's removal followed, and laſtly that of the High Treaſurer himſelf, whoſe office was put into commiſſion, whereof Mr. Harley (made at the ſame time chancellor of the exchequer) was one. I need ſay nothing of other removals, which are well enough known and remembered: let it ſuffice that, in eight or nine months time, the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former miniſtry left in any great ſtations there.

I have good reaſons to be aſſured, that *when the* Queen began this change, ſhe had

d no intentions to carry it ſo far as the urch-party expected, and have ſince been impatient to ſee. For, although ſhe re a true profeſſor of the religion eſta-ſhed, yet the firſt motives to this alter-on did not ariſe from any dangers ſhe prehended to that or the government; t from a deſire to get out of the domi-n of ſome, who ſhe thought had kept r too much and too long in pupilage. e was in her own nature extremely dila-y and timorous; yet, upon ſome occa-ns, poſitive to a great degree. And when : had got rid of thoſe who had, as ſhe ught, given her the moſt uneaſineſs, ſhe s inclined to ſtop, and entertain a fancy acting upon a moderating ſcheme, from ience it was very difficult to remove her. the ſame time I muſt confeſs my be-f, that this imagination was put into her ad, and made uſe of as an encourage-nt to begin that work, after which her viſers might think it eaſier to prevail h her to go as far as they thought fit. at theſe were her Majeſty's diſpoſitions that conjuncture, may be confirmed by ny inſtances. In the very height of the ange, ſhe appeared very loth to part with o *great officers* of ſtate of the other par-

ty;

ty; and ſome, whoſe abſence the new miniſters moſt earneſtly wiſhed, held in for above two years after.

Mr. Harley, who acted as firſt miniſter before he had the ſtaff, as he was a lover of gentle meaſures, and inclined to procraſtination, ſo he could not, with any decency, preſs the Queen too much againſt her nature; becauſe it would be like running upon the rock where his predeceſſors had ſplit. But, violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, againſt the principles and perſons of the low-church party, gave this miniſter a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houſes, eſpecially among the commons, preſſed for a thorough change, and ſo did almoſt all the Queen's new ſervants, eſpecially after Mr. Harley was made an earl and high treaſurer. He could not in good policy own his want of power, nor fling the blame upon his miſtreſs. And, as too much ſecreſy was one of his faults, he would often, upon theſe occaſions, keep his neareſt friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewiſe other views, which were better ſuited to the maxims of ſtate in general, than to that ſituation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of

he diſcontented party, he fell in with the
ueen's humour, he hoped to acquire the
putation of lenity, and kept a great num-
r of expectants in order, who had liberty
hope, while any thing remained undiſ-
ſed of. He ſeemed alſo to think, as other
iniſters have done, that ſince factions are
ceſſary in ſuch a government as ours, it
ould be prudent not altogether to lay the
eſent one proſtrate, leſt another more
auſible, and therefore not ſo eaſy to
apple with, might ariſe in its ſtead.
However, it is certain that a great part
the load he bore was unjuſtly laid on
m. He had no favourites among the
hig-party, whom he kept in upon the
ore of old friendſhip or acquaintance;
ıd he was a greater object of their hatred
an all the reſt of the miniſtry together.

A SER-

A SERMON UPON THE MARTYRDOM of K. CHARLES I.

Preached at St. Patrick's, Dublin, Jan. 30. 1725-6, being Sunday.

GENESIS xlix. 5, 6, 7.

SIMEON *and* LEVI *are brethren; inſtruments of cruelty are in their habitations.*

O my ſoul, come not thou into their ſecret, unto their aſſembly mine honour be not thou united; for in their anger they ſlew a man, and in their ſelf-will they digged down a wall.

Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in JACOB, *and ſcatter them in* ISRAEL.

I KNOW very well, that the church hath been often cenſured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent King and bleſſed Martyr CHARLES I. who rather choſe to die on a ſcaffold than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith GOD and the laws had entruſted him. But, at the ſame time, it is manifeſt that thoſe who make ſuch cenſures are either people without any

ny religion at all, or who derive their inciples, and perhaps their birth, from e abettors of thoſe who contrived the urder of that Prince, and have not yet ewn the world that their opinions are hanged. It is alledged that the obſerva-on of this day hath ſerved to continue nd encreaſe the animoſity and enmity mong our country-men, and to diſunite roteſtants; that a law was made, upon the eſtoration of the Martyr's ſon, for a gene-al pardon and oblivion, forbidding all re-proaches upon that occaſion; and, ſince none are now alive who were actors or in-ſtruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the me-mory of it for all generations. Now, be-cauſe I conceive moſt of you to be igno-rant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it; I will,

Firſt, relate to you [illegible] as may be ſufficient for [illegible]

Secondly, I will tell [illegible] which this bloody [illegible] kingdoms:

And, laſtly, [illegible] uſes this [illegible] be applied.

As to the firſt, In the reign of this Prince, Charles the Martyr, the power and prerogative of the king were much greater than they are in our times, and ſo had been for at leaſt 700 years before: And the beſt princes we ever had carried their power much farther than the bleſſed Martyr offered to do in the moſt blameable part of his reign. But, the lands of the crown having been prodigally beſtowed to favourites, in the preceding reigns, the ſucceeding kings could not ſupport themſelves without taxes raiſed by parliament; which put them under a neceſſity of frequently calling thoſe aſſemblies: And, the crown-lands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, beſide the poſſeſſions of which the church had been robbed by Henry VIII.; power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the ſide of the people, by whom even the juſt rights of the crown were often diſputed.

But further: Upon the cruel perſecution raiſed againſt the Proteſtants, under Queen Mary, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to ſeek for ſhelter, ſeveral went and reſided at Geneva, which is *a* commonwealth governed without a king, *and* where the religion, contrived by Cal-

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vin, is without the order of biſhops. When the Proteſtant faith was reſtored by Queen Elizabeth, thoſe who fled to Geneva returned among the reſt home to England, and were grown ſo fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they uſed all poſſible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the ſame time continually preaching and railing againſt ceremonies and diſtinct habits of the clergy, taxing whatever they diſliked, as a remnant of Popery, and continued extremely troubleſome to the church and ſtate, under that great Queen, as well as her ſucceſſor King James I. Theſe people called themſelves *Puritans*, as pretending to a purer faith than thoſe of the church eſtabliſhed. And theſe were the founders of our diſſenters. They did not think it ſufficient to leave all the errors of Popery, but threw off many laudable and edifying inſtitutions of the Primitive Church, and, at laſt, even the government of biſhops; which, having been ordained by the apoſtles themſelves, had continued without interruption, in all Chriſtian churches, for above 1500 years. And all this they did, not becauſe thoſe things were *evil, but becauſe* they were kept by the

Papiſts. From thence they proceeded, by degrees, to quarrel with the kingly government; becauſe, as I have already ſaid, the city of Geneva, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.

Theſe Puritans, about the middle of the Martyr's reign, were grown to be a conſiderable faction in the kingdom, and in the Lower Houſe of parliament. They filled the public with the moſt falſe and bitter libels againſt the biſhops and clergy, accuſing chiefly the very beſt among them of Popery; and, at the ſame time, the Houſe of Commons grew ſo inſolent and uneaſy to the King, that they refuſed to furniſh him with neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of his family, unleſs upon ſuch conditions as he could not ſubmit to without forfeiting his conſcience and honour, and even his coronation-oath. And, in ſuch an extremity, he was forced upon a practice, no way juſtifiable, of raiſing money; for which, however, he had the opinion of the judges on his ſide: For, wicked judges there were in thoſe times as well as in ours. There were likewiſe many complaints, and ſometimes juſtly, made againſt

againſt the proceedings of a certain court, called the Star-chamber, a judicature of great antiquity, but had ſuffered ſome corruptions, for which, however, the King was no way anſwerable. I cannot recollect any more ſubjects of complaint with the leaſt ground of reaſon, nor is it needful to recollect them, becauſe this gracious King did, upon the firſt application, redreſs all grievances by an act of parliament, and put it out of his power to do any hardſhips for the future. But, that wicked faction in the Houſe of Commons, not content with all thoſe marks of his juſtice and condeſcenſion, urged ſtill for more; and, joining with a factious party from Scotland, who had the ſame fancies in religion, forced him to paſs an act for cutting off the head of his beſt and chief miniſter; and, at the ſame time, compelled him, by tumults and threatnings of a packt rabble, poiſoned with the ſame doctrines, to paſs another law, by which it ſhould not be in his power to diſſolve that parliament without their own conſent. Thus, by the greateſt weakneſs and infatuation that ever poſſeſſed any man's ſpirit, this Prince did in effect ſign his own deſtruction. *For the* Houſe of Commons, having

having the reins in their own hands, drove on furiouſly; ſent him every day ſome unreaſonable demand, and, when he refuſed to grant it, made uſe of their own power, and declared that an ordinance of both Houſes, without the King's conſent, ſhould be obeyed as a law, contrary to all reaſon and equity, as well as to the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein his parliament refuſed to aſſiſt him; nor would accept his offer to come hither in perſon to ſubdue thoſe rebels. Theſe, and a thouſand other barbarities, forced the King to ſummon his loyal ſubjects to his ſtandard in his own defence. Meanwhile the Engliſh parliament, inſtead of helping the poor Proteſtants here, ſeized on the very army that his Majeſty was ſending over for our relief, and turned them againſt their own Sovereign. The rebellion in England continued for four or five years: At laſt the King was forced to fly in diſguiſe to the Scots, who ſold him to the rebels. And theſe Puritans had the impudent cruelty to try his ſacred perſon in a mock court of *juſtice*, and cut off his head; which he *might* have ſaved, if he would have yield-

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ed to betray the conſtitution in church and ſtate.

In this whole proceeding Simeon and Levi were brethren, the wicked inſinuations of thoſe fanatical preachers ſtirring up the cruelty of the ſoldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the Houſe every member of parliament, whom they apprehended to bear the leaſt inclination towards an agreement with the King, ſuffering only thoſe to enter who thirſted chiefly for his blood; and this the very account given by their own writers. From whence it is clear that this Prince was, in all reſpects, a real martyr for the true religion and the liberty of his people. That odious parliament had firſt turned the biſhops out of the Houſe of Lords; in a few years after, they murdered their King; then immediately aboliſhed the whole Houſe of Lords; and ſo, at laſt, obtained their wiſhes, of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of Geneva, without a king, a biſhop, or a nobleman; and this they blaſphemouſly called the kingdom of Chriſt and his ſaints.

This is *enough* for your information on *the firſt head*: I ſhall therefore proceed

to the ſecond, wherein I will ſhew you the miſerable conſequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in theſe nations.

Firſt, the Iriſh rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked Engliſh parliament. For the leaders in the Iriſh Popiſh maſſacre would never have dared to ſtir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious ſpirit in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, which they very well knew muſt diſable the King from ſending any ſupplies to his Proteſtant ſubjects here; and, therefore, we may truly ſay that the Engliſh parliament held the King's hands, while the Iriſh Papiſts here were cutting our grandfathers throats.

Secondly, That murderous Puritan-parliament, when they had all in their own power, could not agree upon any one method of ſettling a form either of religion or civil government, but changed every day from ſchiſm to ſchiſm, from hereſy to hereſy, and from one faction to another. From whence aroſe that wild confuſion ſtill continuing in our ſeveral ways of ſerving God, and thoſe abſurd notions of civil power, which have ſo often torn us with factions

factions more than any other nation in Europe.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder have been owing the riſe and progreſs of Atheiſm among us. For, men obſerving what numberleſs villanies of all kinds were committed during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's church, were eaſily tempted to doubt that all religion was a mere impoſture: And the ſame ſpirit of infidelity, ſo far ſpread among us at this preſent, is nothing but the fruit of the ſeeds ſown by thoſe rebellious hypocritical ſaints.

Fourthly, The old virtue and loyalty, and generous ſpirit of the Engliſh nation, were wholly corrupted by the power, the doctrine, and the example of thoſe wicked people. Many of the antient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their Prince and country, or murdered by the mercileſs courts of juſtice. Some of the worſt among them favoured, or complied with the reigning iniquities, and not a few of the new ſet created, when the Martyr's ſon was reſtored, were ſuch who had drank too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered Prince were forced to fly, for the ſafety of their lives, to foreign countries; where one of them, at leaſt, I mean King James II. was ſeduced to Popery; which ended in the loſs of his kingdoms, the miſery and deſolation of this country, and a long and expenſive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late King; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blaſphemy or idolatry. It was happy that his intereſts and ours were the ſame: And God gave him greater ſucceſs than our ſins deſerved. But, as a houſe thrown down by a ſtorm is ſeldom rebuilt, without ſome change in the foundation; ſo it hath happened, that, ſince the late Revolution, men have ſate much looſer in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have been more violent, treacherous, and malicious than ever, men running naturally from one extreme into another; and, for private ends, taking up thoſe very opinions profeſſed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the bleſſed Martyr to the ſcaffold.

Sixthly, Another conſequence of this *horrid* rebellion and murder was the de-

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ſtroying or defacing ſuch vaſt numbers of God's houſes. *In their ſelf-will they digged down a wall.* If a ſtranger ſhould now travel in England, and obſerve the churches in his way, he could not otherwiſe conclude, than that ſome vaſt army of Turks or Heathens had been ſent on purpoſe to ruin and blot out all marks of Chriſtianity. They ſpared neither the ſtatues of ſaints, or antient prelates, or kings, or benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations, ſeized the veſſels of ſilver ſet apart for the holieſt uſe, tore down the moſt innocent ornaments both within and without, made the houſes of prayer dens of thieves, or ſtables for cattle. Theſe were the mildeſt effects of Puritan-zeal, and devotion for Chriſt; and this was what themſelves affected to call a thorough reformation. In this kingdom thoſe ravages were not ſo eaſily ſeen; for the people here being too poor to raiſe ſuch noble temples, the mean ones we had, were not defaced, but totally deſtroyed.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that although God might have found out many other ways to have puniſhed a ſinful people, without permitting this rebellion

and murder, yet as the courſe of the world hath run ever ſince, we need ſeek for no other cauſes, of all the public evils we have hitherto ſuffered, or may ſuffer for the future, by the miſconduct of princes, or wickedneſs of the people.

I go on now upon the third head, to ſhew you to what good uſes this ſolemn day of humiliation may be applied.

Firſt, It may be an inſtruction to princes themſelves, to be careful in the choice of thoſe who are their adviſers in matters of law. All the judges of England, except one or two, adviſed the King, that he might legally raiſe money upon the ſubjects for building of ſhips, without conſent of parliament; which, as it was the greateſt overſight of his reign, ſo it proved the principal foundation of all his misfortunes. Princes may likewiſe learn from hence, not to ſacrifice a faithful ſervant to the rage of a faction, nor to truſt any body of men with a greater ſhare of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much leſs to depoſite it in their hands until they ſhall pleaſe to reſtore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day, and the conſequences *that* have ariſen from it, we ſhall be convinced

vinced how neceſſary it is for thoſe in power to curb, in ſeaſon, all ſuch unruly ſpirits as deſire to introduce new doctrines and diſcipline in the church, or new forms of government in the ſtate. Thoſe wicked Puritans began, in Queen Elizabeth's time, to quarrel only with ſurplices and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the croſs in baptiſm, and the like; thence they went on to further matters of higher importance, and, at laſt, they muſt needs have the whole government of the church diſſolved. This great work they compaſſed, firſt, by depriving the biſhops of their ſeats in parliament, then they aboliſhed the whole order; and, at laſt, which was their original deſign, they ſeized on all the church-lands, and divided the ſpoil among themſelves; and, like Jeroboam, made prieſts of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modelled it upon the murder of their King, and diſcarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to ſhew what a Babel they had built, after twelve years trial and twenty ſeveral ſorts of government; the nation, grown weary of their *tyranny*, was forced to call in the

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ſon of him whom thoſe reformers had ſacrificed. And thus were Simeon and Levi divided in Jacob and ſcattered in Iſrael.

Thirdly, Although the ſucceſſors of thoſe Puritans, I mean our preſent diſſenters, do not think fit to obſerve this day of humiliation; yet, ~~ſince~~ it would be very proper in them, upon ſome occaſions, to renounce in a public manner thoſe principles upon which their predeceſſors acted; and it will be more prudent in them to do ſo, becauſe thoſe very Puritans, of whom ours are followers, found by experience, that, after they had overturned the church and ſtate, murdered their King, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the ſaints, they were cheated of the power and poſſeſſions they only panted after, by an upſtart ſect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who ſubjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to ſet up a thouſand.

Fourthly, Thoſe who profeſs to be followers of our church eſtabliſhed, and yet preſume in diſcourſe to juſtify or excuſe that rebellion, and murder of the King, ought to conſider, how utterly contrary all ſuch opinions are to the doctrine of Chriſt *and his* apoſtles, as well as to the articles

of

of our church, and to the preaching and practice of it's true profeſſors for above an hundred years. Of late times, indeed, and I ſpeak it with grief of heart, we have heard even ſermons of a ſtrange nature; although reaſon would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and leſſening the guilt of thoſe who murdered the beſt of Kings in cold blood, and, for a time, deſtroyed the very monarchy itſelf. Pray God we may never more hear ſuch doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it ſcattered about in print, to poiſon the people.

Fifthly, Some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the conſequences they had upon theſe nations, may be a warning to our people not to believe a lie, and to miſtruſt thoſe deluding ſpirits, who, under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may ſay what they pleaſe, but it is no hard thing at all for the meaneſt perſon, who hath common underſtanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling; if he be ſecure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to

defend

defend himſelf againſt injuſtice and oppreſſion: If his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it, (which he may be very ſecure of, let it be what it will;) he ought to be fully ſatisfied, and give no offence, by writing or diſcourſe, to the worſhip eſtabliſhed, as the diſſenting preachers are too apt to do. But, if he hath any new viſions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet and poſſeſs them in ſilence, without diſturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proſelytes. This was the folly and madneſs of thoſe antient Puritan fanatics: They muſt needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring all their abſurdities and blaſphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghoſt.

To conclude this head. In anſwer to that objection of keeping up animoſity and hatred between Proteſtants, by the obſervation of this day; if there be any ſect, or ſort of people among us, who profeſs the ſame principles in religion and government which thoſe Puritan rebels put in *practice*; I think it is the intereſt of all

thoſe

thoſe who love the church and king, to keep up as ſtrong a party againſt them as poſſible, until they ſhall, in a body, renounce all thoſe wicked opinions upon which their predeceſſors acted, to the diſgrace of Chriſtianity, and the perpetual infamy of the Engliſh nation.

When we accuſe the Papiſts of the horrid doctrine, that no faith ought to be kept with Heretics, they deny it to a man; and yet we juſtly think it dangerous to truſt them, becauſe we know their actions have been ſometimes ſuitable to that opinion: But the followers of thoſe who beheaded the Martyr have not yet renounced their principles; and, till they do, they may be juſtly ſuſpected: Neither will the bare name of Proteſtants ſet them right. For, ſurely, Chriſt requires more from us than a profeſſion of hating Popery, which a Turk or an Atheiſt may do as well as a Proteſtant.

If an enſlaved people ſhould recover their liberty, from a tyrannical power of any ſort, who could blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thankſgiving? And doth not the deſtruction of a church, a king, and three kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocriſy, and cruelty

cruelty of a wicked race of ſoldiers and preachers, and other ſons of Belial, equally require a ſolemn time of humiliation! eſpecially ſince the conſequences of that bloody ſcene ſtill continue, as I have already ſhewn, in their effects upon us.

Thus I have done with the three heads I propoſed to diſcourſe on. But, before I conclude, I muſt give a caution to thoſe who hear me, that they may not think I am pleading for abſolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true, all power is from God, and, as the apoſtle ſays, *The powers that be are ordained of God;* but this is in the ſame ſenſe, that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever poſſeſſion we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in thoſe, or any other words of Scripture, to juſtify tyrannical power, or the ſavage cruelties of thoſe Heathen emperors who lived in the time of the apoſtles: And ſo St. Paul concludes, *The powers that be are ordained of God:* For what? Why, *for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the praiſe, the reward of them that do well.* There is no more inward value in the greateſt emperor, than in the meaneſt of his ſubjects: His body is compoſed of the ſame ſubſtance, the ſame parts, and

with the ſame or greater infirmities: His education is generally worſe, by flattery, and idleneſs, and luxury, and thoſe evil diſpoſitions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore againſt common ſenſe, that his private perſonal intereſt, or pleaſure, ſhould be put in the balance with the ſafety of millions, every one of which is his equal by nature, equal in the ſight of God, equally capable of ſalvation; and it is for their ſakes, not his own, that he is entruſted with the government over them. He hath as high truſt as can ſafely be repoſed in one man, and, if he diſcharge it as he ought, he deſerves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive. His perſonal failings we have nothing to do with, and errors in government are to be imputed to his miniſters in the ſtate. To what height thoſe errors may be ſuffered to proceed, is not the buſineſs of this day, or this place, or of my function, to determine. When oppreſſions grow too great and univerſal to be borne, nature or neceſſity may find a remedy. But, if a private perſon reaſonably expects pardon, upon his amendment, for all faults that are not capital, it would be an hard condition indeed, not to give the ſame allowance

lowance to a Prince; who muſt ſee with other mens eyes, and hear with other mens ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the Martyr, and is ſo, in ſome degree, of all other princes. Yet, this we may juſtly ſay in defence of the common people, in all civilized nations, that it muſt be a very bad government indeed, where the body of the ſubjects will not rather chuſe to live in peace and obedience, than take up arms on pretence of faults in the adminiſtration, unleſs where the vulgar are deluded by falſe preachers to grow fond of new viſions and fancies in religion, which, managed by dextrous men, for ſiniſter ends of malice, envy or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the caſe in the whole progreſs of that great rebellion, and the murder of King Charles I.; but the late Revolution under the Prince of Orange was occaſioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppreſſion and injuſtice there beginning from the throne. For that unhappy Prince, King James II. did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a falſe religion upon his ſubjects, for which he was deſervedly rejected,

ſince there could be no other remedy found, or at leaſt agreed on. But, under the bleſſed Martyr, the deluded people would have forced many falſe religions, not only on their fellow ſubjects, but even upon their Sovereign himſelf, and at the ſame time invaded all his undoubted rights; and, becauſe he would not comply, raiſed a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permiſſion of God, they prevailed, and put their Sovereign to death, like a common criminal, in the face of the world.

Therefore, thoſe who ſeem to think they cannot otherwiſe juſtify the late Revolution, and the change of the ſucceſſion, than by leſſening the guilt of the Puritans, do certainly put the greateſt affront imaginable upon the preſent powers, by ſuppoſing any relation, or reſemblance, between that rebellion and the late Revolution; and, conſequently, that the preſent eſtabliſhment is to be defended by the ſame arguments which thoſe uſurpers made uſe of, who, to obtain their tyranny, trampled under foot all the laws both of God and man.

One great deſign of my diſcourſe was to give you warning againſt running into *either extreme of* two bad opinions, with

relation to obedience. As kings are called Gods upon earth, ſo ſome would allow them an equal power with God, over all laws and ordinances; and that the liberty, and property, and life, and religion of the ſubject, depended wholly upon the breath of the prince; which however, I hope, was never meant by thoſe who pleaded for paſſive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was firſt charged with it, but hath ſometimes gone over to the other, to ſerve many an evil turn of intereſt or ambition, who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as the higheſt maintainers of it.

On the other ſide, ſome look upon kings as anſwerable for every miſtake or omiſſion in government, and bound to comply with the moſt unreaſonable demands of an unquiet faction, which was the caſe of thoſe who perſecuted the bleſſed martyr of this day from his throne to the ſcaffold.

Between theſe two extremes, it is eaſy, from what hath been ſaid, to chuſe a middle; to be good and loyal ſubjects, yet, according to your power, faithful aſſertors of your religion and liberties. To avoid all broachers and preachers of new-fangled

doctrines in the church; to be ſtrict obſervers of the laws, which cannot be juſtly taken from you without your own conſent. In ſhort, *to obey God and the king, and meddle not with thoſe who are given to change.*

Which that you may all do, *&c.*

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
COURT and EMPIRE of JAPAN.

WRITTEN IN MDCCXXVIII.

REGOGE was the thirty-fourth Emperor of Japan, and began his reign in the year 341 of the Chriſtian æra, ſucceeding to Nena, a Princeſs who governed with great felicity.

There had been a revolution in that empire about twenty-ſix years before, which made ſome breaches in the hereditary line; and Regoge, ſucceſſor to Nena, although of the royal family, was a diſtant relation.

There were two violent parties in the empire, which began in the time of the revolution above-mentioned; and, at the death of the Empreſs Nena, were in the higheſt degree of animoſity, each charging the other with a deſign of introducing new Gods, and changing the civil conſtitution. The names of theſe two parties were Huſiges and Yortes. The latter were thoſe whom

whom Nena, the late Empreſs, moſt favoured towards the end of her reign, and by whoſe advice ſhe governed.

The Huſige faction, enraged at their loſs of power, made private applications to Regoge during the life of the Empreſs; which prevailed ſo far, that, upon her death, the new Emperor wholly diſgraced the Yortes, and employed only the Huſiges in all his affairs. The Japaneſe Author highly blames his Imperial Majeſty's proceeding in this affair; becauſe, it was allowed on all hands, that he had then a happy opportunity of reconciling parties for ever by a moderating ſcheme. But he, on the contrary, began his reign by openly diſgracing the principal and moſt popular Yortes, ſome of which had been chiefly inſtrumental in raiſing him to the throne. By this miſtaken ſtep he occaſioned a rebellion; which, although it were ſoon quelled by ſome very ſurpriſing turns of fortune, yet the fear, whether real or pretended, of new attempts, engaged him in ſuch immenſe charges, that, inſtead of clearing any part of that prodigious debt left on his kingdom by the former war, which might have been done by any tolerable management, in twelve years of the moſt profound

peace; he left his empire loaden with a vaſt addition to the old incumbrance.

This Prince, before he ſucceeded to the empire of Japan, was King of Tedſu, a dominion ſeated on the continent, to the weſt-ſide of Japan. Tedſu was the place of his birth, and more beloved by him than his new empire; for there he ſpent ſome months almoſt every year, and thither was ſuppoſed to have conveyed great ſums of money, ſaved out of his imperial revenues.

There were two maritime towns of great importance bordering upon Tedſu: Of theſe he purchaſed a litigated title; and, to ſupport it, was forced not only to entrench deeply on his Japaneſe revenues, but to engage in alliances very dangerous to the Japaneſe empire.

Japan was at that time a limited monarchy, which ſome authors are of opinion was introduced there by a detachment from the numerous army of Brennus, who ravaged a great part of Aſia; and, thoſe of them who fixed in Japan, left behind them that kind of military inſtitution, which the northern people, in enſuing ages, carried through moſt parts of Europe; the generals becoming kings, the great officers

officers a ſenate of nobles, with a repreſentative from every centenary of private ſoldiers; and, in the aſſent of the majority in theſe two bodies, confirmed by the general, the legiſlature conſiſted.

I need not farther explain a matter ſo univerſally known; but return to my ſubject.

The Huſige faction, by a groſs piece of negligence in the Yortes, had ſo far inſinuated themſelves and their opinions into the favour of Regoge before he came to the empire, that this Prince firmly believed them to be his only true friends, and the others his mortal enemies. By this opinion he governed all the actions of his reign.

The Emperor died ſuddenly, in his journey to Tedſu; where, according to his uſual cuſtom, he was going to paſs the ſummer.

This Prince, during his whole reign, continued an abſolute ſtranger to the language, the manners, the laws, and the religion of Japan; and, paſſing his whole time among old miſtreſſes, or a few privados, left the whole management of the empire in the hands of a miniſter, upon the condition of being made eaſy

in his perſonal revenues, and the management of parties in the ſenate. His laſt Miniſter, who governed in the moſt arbitrary manner for ſeveral years, he was thought to hate more than he did any other perſon in Japan, except his only ſon, the heir to the empire. The diſlike he bore to the former was, becauſe the miniſter, under pretence that he could not govern the ſenate without diſpoſing of employments among them, would not ſuffer his maſter to oblige one ſingle perſon, but diſpoſed of all to his own relations and dependents. But, as to that continued and virulent hatred he bore to the Prince his ſon, from the beginning of his reign to his death, the Hiſtorian hath not accounted for it, further than by various conjectures, which do not deſerve to be related.

The miniſter above mentioned was of a family not contemptible, had been early a ſenator, and from his youth a mortal enemy to the Yortes. He had been formerly diſgraced in the ſenate, for ſome frauds in the management of a public truſt. He was perfectly ſkilled, by long practice, in the ſenatorial forms; and dextrous in the purchaſing of votes, from thoſe who could find their accounts better in complying

lying with his meaſures, than they ould probably loſe by any tax that might e charged on the kingdom. He ſeemed fail, in point of policy, by not conceal- ig his gettings, never ſcrupling openly lay out vaſt ſums of money in paintings, uildings, and purchaſing eſtates; when was known, that, upon his firſt coming ito buſineſs, upon the death of the Em- reſs Nena, his fortune was but inconſi- erable. He had the moſt boldneſs, and the aſt magnanimity that ever any mortal as endowed with. By enriching his re- tions, friends, and dependants, in a moſt xorbitant manner, he was weak enough imagine that he had provided a ſup- ort againſt an evil day. He had the eſt among all falſe appearances of cou- ge, which was a moſt unlimited aſ- rance, whereby he would ſwagger the oldeſt men into a dread of his power, ut had not the ſmalleſt portion of agnanimity, growing jealous, and diſ- racing every man, who was known to ear the leaſt civility to thoſe he diſ- ked. He had ſome ſmall ſmattering in ooks, but no manner of politeneſs; nor, his whole life, was ever known to ad- ance any one perſon, upon the ſcore of

wit, learning, or abilities for buſineſs. The whole ſyſtem of his miniſtry was corruption; and he never gave bribe or penſion, without frankly telling the receivers what he expected from them, and threatning them to put an end to his bounty, if they failed to comply in every circumſtance.

A few months before the Emperor's death, there was a deſign concerted between ſome eminent perſons of both parties, whom the deſperate ſtate of the empire had united, to accuſe the miniſter at the firſt meeting of a new choſen ſenate, which was then to aſſemble according to the laws of that empire. And it was believed, that the vaſt expence he muſt be at in chuſing an aſſembly proper for his purpoſe, added to the low ſtate of the treaſury, the encreaſing number of penſioners, the great diſcontent of the people, and the perſonal hatred of the Emperor; would, if well laid open in the ſenate, be of weight enough to ſink the miniſter, when it ſhould appear to his very penſioners and creatures that he could not ſupply them much longer.

While this ſcheme was in agitation, an account came of the Emperor's death, and the

Prince his ſon, with univerſal joy, unted the throne of Japan.

'he new Emperor had always lived a 'ate life, during the reign of his father; ɔ, in his annual abſence, never truſted ı more than once with the reins of go- nment, which he held ſo evenly that he ame too popular to be confided in any re. He was thought not unfavourable the Yortes, at leaſt not altogether to rove the virulence wherewith his fa- r proceeded againſt them; and there- e, immediately upon his ſucceſſion, the ıcipal perſons of that denomination ıe, in ſeveral bodies, to kiſs the hem his garment, whom he received with at courteſy, and ſome of them with ticular marks of diſtinction.

The Prince, during the reign of his fa- r, having not been truſted with any ɔlic charge, employed his leiſure in rning the language, the religion, the toms, and diſpoſition of the Japaneſe; erein he received great information, ong others, from Nomptoc, maſter of finances, and preſident of the ſenate, o ſecretly hated Lelop-Aw, the miniſter; l likewiſe from Ramneh, a moſt emi- ıt ſenator; who, deſpairing to do any

good

good with the father, had, with great induſtry, ſkill, and decency, uſed his endeavour to inſtil good principles into the young Prince.

Upon the news of the former Emperor's death, a grand council was ſummoned of courſe, where little paſſed beſides directing the ceremony of proclaiming the Succeſſor. But, in ſome days after, the new Emperor having conſulted with thoſe perſons in whom he could chiefly confide, and maturely conſidered in his own mind the preſent ſtate of his affairs, as well as the diſpoſition of his people, convoked another aſſembly of his council; wherein, after ſome time ſpent in general buſineſs, ſuitable to the preſent emergency, he directed Lelop-Aw to give him, in as ſhort terms as he conveniently could, an account of the nation's debts, of his management in the ſenate, and his negotiations with foreign courts: Which that miniſter having delivered, according to his uſual manner, with much aſſurance and little ſatisfaction, the Emperor deſired to be fully ſatisfied in the following particulars.

Whether the vaſt expence of chuſing ſuch members into the ſenate, as would be con-

tent

rent to do the public buſineſs, were abſolutely neceſſary?

Whether thoſe members, thus choſen in, would croſs and impede the neceſſary courſe of affairs, unleſs they were ſupplied with great ſums of money, and continued penſions?

Whether the ſame corruption and perverſeneſs were to be expected from the Nobles?

Whether the empire of Japan were in ſo low a condition, that the imperial envoys, at foreign courts, muſt be forced to purchaſe alliances, or prevent a war by immenſe bribes, given to the miniſters of all the neighbouring Princes?

Why the debts of the empire were ſo prodigiouſly advanced, in a peace of twelve years at home and abroad?

Whether the Yortes were univerſally enemies to the religion and laws of the Empire, and to the Imperial Family now reigning?

Whether thoſe perſons, whoſe revenues conſiſt in lands, do not give ſurer pledges of fidelity to the public, and are more intereſted in the welfare of the empire, than others whoſe fortunes conſiſt only in money?

And

And becauſe Lelop-Aw, for ſeveral ye paſt, had engroſſed the whole adminiſt tion, the Emperor ſignified, that from h alone he expected an anſwer.

This miniſter, who had ſagacity enou to cultivate an intereſt in the young Prin family, during the late Emperor's life, ceived early intelligence from one of emiſſaries of what was intended at council, and had ſufficient time to fra as plauſible an anſwer as his cauſe and c duct would allow. However, having fired a few minutes to put his thought order, he delivered them in the follow manner.

SIR,

Upon this ſhort unexpected warning, anſwer your Imperial Majeſty's querie ſhould be wholly at a loſs, in your Majel auguſt preſence, and that of this moſt nc aſſembly, if I were armed with a wea defence than my own loyalty and i grity, and the proſperous ſucceſs of endeavours.

It is well known that the death of Empreſs Nena happened in a moſt mira lous juncture; and that, if ſhe had li two months longer, your illuſtrious fan

would have been deprived of your right, and we ſhould have ſeen an uſurper upon your throne, who would have wholly changed the conſtitution of this empire, both civil and ſacred; and although that Empreſs died in a moſt opportune ſeaſon, yet the peaceable entrance of your Majeſty's father was effected by a continual ſeries of miracles. The truth of this appears by that unnatural rebellion which the Yortes raiſed, without the leaſt provocation, in the firſt year of the late Emperor's reign, which may be ſufficient to convince your Majeſty, that every ſoul of that denomination was, is, and will be for ever, a favourer of the Pretender, a mortal enemy to your illuſtrious family, and an introducer of new Gods into the empire. Upon this foundation was built the whole conduct of our affairs; and, ſince a great majority of the kingdom was at that time reckoned to favour the Yortes faction, who, in the regular courſe of elections, muſt certainly be choſen members of the ſenate then to be convoked; it was neceſſary, by the force of money, to influence elections in ſuch a manner, that your Majeſty's father might have a ſufficient number to weigh down the ſcale on his ſide, and thereby carry on

thoſe meaſures which could only ſecure him and his family in the poſſeſſion of the empire. To ſupport this original plan I came into the ſervice: But the members of the ſenate, knowing themſelves every day more neceſſary, upon the chuſing of a new ſenate, I found the charges to encreaſe; and that, after they were choſen, they inſiſted upon an increaſe of their penſions; becauſe they well knew that the work could not be carried on without them: And I was more general in my donatives, becauſe I thought it was more for the honour of the crown, that every vote ſhould paſs without a diviſion; and that, when a debate was propoſed, it ſhould immediately be quaſhed, by putting the queſtion.

SIR, The date of the preſent ſenate is expired, and your Imperial Majeſty is now to convoke a new one; which, I confeſs, will be ſomewhat more expenſive than the laſt, becauſe the Yortes, from your favourable reception, have begun to reaſſume a ſpirit whereof the country had ſome intelligence; and we know the majority of the people, without proper management, would be ſtill in that fatal intereſt. However, I dare undertake, with the charge only

only of four hundred thouſand ſprangs *, to return as great a majority of ſenators of the true ſtamp, as your Majeſty can deſire. As to the ſums of money paid in foreign courts, I hope, in ſome years, to eaſe the nation of them, when we and our neighbours come to a good underſtanding. However, I will be bold to ſay, they are cheaper than a war, where your Majeſty is to be a principal.

The penſions, indeed, to ſenators and other perſons, muſt needs increaſe, from the reſtiveneſs of ſome, and ſcrupulous nature of others; and the new members, who are unpractiſed, muſt have better encouragement. However, I dare undertake to bring the eventual charge within eight hundred thouſand ſprangs. But, to make this eaſy, there ſhall be new funds raiſed, of which I have ſeveral ſchemes ready, without taxing bread or fleſh, which ſhall be referred to more preſſing occaſions.

Your Majeſty knows it is the laudable cuſtom of all Eaſtern princes, to leave the whole management of affairs, both civil and mi-

* About a million Sterling.

litary, to their Viſirs. The appointments for your family, and private purſe, ſhall exceed thoſe of your predeceſſors: You ſhall be at no trouble, further than to appear ſometimes in council, and leave the reſt to me: You ſhall hear no clamour or complaints: Your ſenate ſhall, upon occaſions, declare you the beſt of princes, the father of your country, the arbiter of Aſia, the defender of the oppreſſed, and the delight of mankind.

SIR, Hear not thoſe who would moſt falſely, impiouſly, and malicioufly inſinuate, that your government can be carried on without that wholeſome, neceſſary expedient, of ſharing the public revenue with your faithful deſerving ſenators. This, I know, my enemies are pleaſed to call bribery and corruption. Be it ſo: But I inſiſt, that, without this bribery and corruption, the wheels of government will not turn, or at leaſt will be apt to take fire, like other wheels, unleſs they be greaſed at proper times. If an angel from heaven ſhould deſcend, to govern this empire upon any other ſcheme than what our enemies call corruption, he muſt return from whence he came, and leave the work undone.

SIR,

SIR, It is well known we are a trading nation, and conſequently cannot thrive in a bargain where nothing is to be gained. The poor electors, who run from their ſhops, or the plough, for the ſervice of their country, are they not to be conſidered for their labour and their loyalty? The candidates, who, with the hazard of their perſons, the loſs of their characters, and the ruin of their fortunes, are preferred to the ſenate, in a country where they are ſtrangers, before the very lords of the ſoil; are they not to be rewarded for their zeal to your Majeſty's ſervice, and qualified to live in your metropolis as becomes the luſtre of their ſtations?

SIR, If I have given great numbers of the moſt profitable employments among my own relations and neareſt allies, it was not out of any partiality, but becauſe I know them beſt, and can beſt depend upon them. I have been at the pains to mould and cultivate their opinions. Abler heads might probably have been found, but they would not be equally under my direction. A huntſman, who hath the abſolute command of his dogs, will hunt more effectually than with a better pack, to whoſe manner and cry he is a ſtranger.

SIR, Upon the whole, I will appeal to all thoſe who beſt knew your royal father, whether that bleſſed monarch had ever one anxious thought for the public, or diſappointment, or uneaſineſs, or want of money for all his occaſions, during the time of my adminiſtration? And, how happy the people confeſſed themſelves to be under ſuch a king, I leave to their own numerous addreſſes; which all politicians will allow to be the moſt infallible proof how any nation ſtands affected to their ſovereign.

Lelop-Aw, having ended his ſpeech and ſtruck his forehead thrice againſt the table, as the cuſtom is in Japan, ſate down with great complacency of mind, and much applauſe of his adherents, as might be obſerved by their countenances and their whiſpers. But the Emperor's behaviour was remarkable; for, during the whole harangue, he appeared equally attentive and uneaſy. After a ſhort pauſe, his Majeſty commanded that ſome other counſellor ſhould deliver his thoughts, either to confirm or object againſt what had been ſpoken by Lelop-Aw.

A LET-

A LETTER TO THE WRITER of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

[Vide the CRAFTSMAN, 1727.]

SIR,

ALTHOUGH, in one of your Papers, you declare an intention of turning them, during the dead ſeaſon of the year, into accounts of domeſtic and foreign intelligence; yet I think we, your correſpondents, ſhould not underſtand your meaning ſo literally, as if you intended to reject inſerting any other paper, which might probably be uſeful for the public. Neither, indeed, am I fully convinced that this new courſe you reſolve to take will render you more ſecure than your former laudable practice, of inſerting ſuch ſpeculations as were ſent you by ſeveral well-wiſhers to the good of the kingdom; however grating ſuch notices might be to ſome, who wanted neither power nor inclination to reſent them at your coſt. For, ſince there

is a direct law againſt ſpreading falſe news, if you ſhould venture to tell us in one of the Craftſmen that the Dey of Algiers had got the tooth-ach, or the King of Bantam had taken a purge, and the facts ſhould be contradicted in ſucceeding pacquets; I do not ſee what plea you could offer to avoid the utmoſt penalty of the law, becauſe you are not ſuppoſed to be very gracious among thoſe who are moſt able to hurt you.

Beſides, as I take your intentions to be ſincerely meant for the public ſervice, ſo your original method of entertaining and inſtructing us will be more general and more uſeful in this ſeaſon of the year, when people are retired to amuſements more cool, more innocent, and much more reaſonable than thoſe they have left; when their paſſions are ſubſided or ſuſpended; when they have no occaſions of inflaming themſelves, or each other; where they will have opportunities of hearing common ſenſe, every day in the week, from their tenants or neighbouring farmers, and thereby be qualified, in hours of rain or leiſure, to read and conſider the advice or information you ſhall ſend them.

Another

Another weighty reaſon why you ſhould not alter your manner of writing, by dwindling to a news-monger, is becauſe there is no ſuſpenſion of arms agreed on between you and your adverſaries, who fight with a ſort of weapons which have two wonderful qualities, that they are never to be worn out, and are beſt wielded by the weakeſt hands, and which the poverty of our language forceth me to call by the trite appellations of Scurrility, Slander, and Billingſgate. I am far from thinking that theſe gentlemen, or rather their employers, (for the operators themſelves are too obſcure to be gueſſed at) ſhould be anſwered after their own way, although it were poſſible to drag them out of their obſcurity; but I wiſh you would enquire what real uſe ſuch a conduct is to the cauſe they have been ſo largely paid to defend. The author of the three firſt Occaſional Letters, a perſon altogether unknown, hath been thought to glance (for what reaſons he beſt knows) at ſome public proceedings, as if they were not agreeable to his private opinions. In anſwer to this, the pamphleteers retained on the other ſide are inſtructed by their ſuperiors, to ſingle out an adverſary whoſe abilities they moſt have

reaſon to apprehend, and to load himſelf, his family, and friends, with all the infamy that a perpetual converſation in Bridewell, Newgate, and the ſtews could furniſh them; but, at the ſame time, ſo very unluckily, that the moſt diſtinguiſhing parts of their characters ſtrike directly in the face of their benefactor, whoſe idea preſenting itſelf along with his guineas perpetually to their imagination, occaſioned this deſperate blunder.

But, allowing this heap of ſlander to be truth, and applied to the proper perſon; what is to be the conſequence? Are our public debts to be the ſooner paid; the corruptions that author complains of to be the ſooner cured; an honourable peace, or a glorious war the more likely to enſue; trade to flouriſh; the Oſtend company to be demoliſhed; Gibraltar and Port-Mahon left entire in our poſſeſſion; the balance of Europe to be preſerved; the malignity of parties to be for ever at an end; none but perſons of merit, virtue, genius, and learning to be encouraged? I aſk whether any of theſe effects will follow upon the publication of this author's libel, even ſuppoſing he could prove every ſyllable of it to be true?

At the ſame time, I am well aſſured, that the only reaſon of aſcribing thoſe papers to a particular perſon, is built upon the information of a certain pragmatical ſpy of quality, well known to act in that capacity by thoſe into whoſe company he inſinuates himſelf; a ſort of perſons who, although without much love, eſteem, or dread of people in preſent power, yet have too much common prudence to ſpeak their thoughts with freedom before ſuch an intruder; who, therefore, impoſes groſſly upon his maſters, if he makes them pay for any thing but his own conjectures.

It is a grievous miſtake in a great miniſter to neglect or deſpiſe, much more to irritate men of genius and learning. I have heard one of the wiſeſt perſons in my time obſerve, that an adminiſtration was to be known and judged by the talents of thoſe who appeared their advocates in print. This I muſt never allow to be a general rule; yet I cannot but think it prodigiouſly unfortunate, that, among the anſwerers, defenders, repliers, and panegyriſts, ſtarted up in defence of preſent perſons and proceedings, there hath not yet ariſen one whoſe labours we can read with patience, however we may applaud

their loyalty and good-will. And all this with the advantages of conſtant ready pay, of natural and acquired venom, and a grant of the whole fund of ſlander, to range over and riot in as they pleaſe.

On the other ſide, a turbulent writer of Occaſional Letters, and other vexatious papers, in conjunction perhaps with one or two friends as bad as himſelf, is able to diſconcert, teaze, and ſour us whenever he thinks fit, merely by the ſtrength of genius and truth; and after ſo dextrous a manner, that, when we are vexed to the ſoul, and well know the reaſons why we are ſo, we are aſhamed to own the firſt, and cannot tell how to expreſs the other. In a word, it ſeems to me that all the writers are on one ſide, and all the railers on the other.

However, I do not pretend to aſſert, that it is impoſſible for an ill miniſter to find men of wit who may be drawn, by a very valuable conſideration, to undertake his defence; but the misfortune is, that the heads of ſuch writers rebel againſt their hearts; their genius forſakes them, when they would offer to proſtitute it to the ſervice of injuſtice, corruption, party-rage, and falſe repreſentations of things and perſons.

And

And this is the beſt argument I can offer in defence of great men, who have been of late ſo very unhappy in the choice of their paper-champions; although I cannot much commend their good huſbandry, in thoſe exorbitant payments of twenty and ſixty guineas at a time for a ſcurvy pamphlet; ſince the ſort of work they require is what will all come within the talents of any one who hath enjoyed the happineſs of a very bad education, hath kept the vileſt company, is endowed with a ſervile ſpirit, is maſter of an empty purſe, and a heart full of malice.

But, to ſpeak the truth in ſoberneſs; it ſhould ſeem a little hard, ſince the old Whiggiſh principle hath been recalled of ſtanding up for the liberty of the preſs, to a degree that no man, for ſeveral years paſt, durſt venture out a thought which did not ſquare to a point with the maxims and practices that then prevailed: I ſay, it is a little hard that the vileſt mercenaries ſhould be countenanced, preferred, rewarded, for diſcharging their brutalities againſt men of honour, only upon a bare conjecture.

If it ſhould happen that theſe profligates have attacked an innocent perſon, I aſk

what

what ſatisfaction can their hirers give in return? Not all the wealth raked together by the moſt corrupt rapacious miniſters, in the longeſt courſe of unlimited power, would be ſufficient to atone for the hundredth part of ſuch an injury.

In the common way of thinking, it is a ſituation ſufficient in all conſcience to ſatisfy a reaſonable ambition, for a private perſon, to command the laws, the forces, the revenues of a great kingdom, to reward and advance his followers and flatterers as he pleaſes, and to keep his enemies (real or imaginary) in the duſt. In ſuch an exaltation, why ſhould he be at the trouble to make uſe of fools to ſound his praiſes, (becauſe I always thought the lion was hard ſet, when he choſe the aſs for his trumpeter) or knaves to revenge his quarrels, at the expence of innocent mens reputations?

With all thoſe advantages, I cannot ſee why perſons, in the height of power, ſhould be under the leaſt concern on account of their reputation, for which they have no manner of uſe; or to ruin that of others, which may perhaps be the only poſſeſſion their enemies have left them. Suppoſing times of corruption, which I am very

very far from doing, if a writer diſplays them in their proper colours, does he do any thing worſe than ſending cuſtomers to the ſhop? Here only, at the ſign of the Brazen Head, are to be ſold places and penſions: beware of counterfeits, and take care of miſtaking the door.

For my own part, I think it very unneceſſary to give the character of a great miniſter in the fulneſs of his power, becauſe it is a thing that naturally does itſelf, and is obvious to the eyes of all mankind; for his perſonal qualities are all derived into the moſt minute parts of his adminiſtration. If this be juſt, prudent, regular, impartial, intent upon the public good, prepared for preſent exigencies, and provident of the future; ſuch is the director himſelf in his private capacity: If it be rapacious, inſolent, partial, palliating long and deep diſeaſes of the public with empirical remedies, falſe, diſguiſed, impudent, malicious, revengeful; you ſhall infallibly find the private life of the conductor to anſwer in every point; nay, what is more, every twinge of the gout or gravel will be felt in their conſequences by the community: As the thief-catcher, upon viewing a houſe broke open, could immediately

diately diſtinguiſh, from the manner of the workmanſhip, by what hand it was done.

It is hard to form a maxim againſt which an exception is not ready to ſtart up: So, in the preſent caſe, where the miniſter grows enormouſly rich, the public is proportionably poor; as, in a private family, the ſteward always thrives the faſteſt when his Lord is running out.

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OF PUBLIC ABSURDITIES IN ENGLAND.

IT is a common topic of ſatire, which you will hear not only from the mouths of miniſters of ſtate, but of every whiffler in office, that half a dozen obſcure fellows, over a bottle of wine or a diſh of coffee, ſhall preſume to cenſure the actions of parliaments and councils, to form ſchemes of government, and new-model the commonwealth; and this uſually ridiculed as a pragmatical diſpoſition to politics, in the very nature and genius of the people. It may poſſibly be true: And yet I am groſsly deceived if any ſober man, of very moderate talents, when he reflects upon the many ridiculous hurtful maxims, cuſtoms, and general rules of life, which prevail in this kingdom, would not with great reaſon be tempted, according to the preſent turn of his humour, either to laugh, lament, or be angry; or, if he were ſanguine enough, perhaps to dream of a remedy. It is the miſtake of wiſe and good

men, that they expect more reaſon and virtue from human nature, than, taking it in the bulk, it is in any ſort capable of. Whoever hath been preſent at councils or aſſemblies of any ſort, if he be a man of common prudence, cannot but have obſerved ſuch reſults and opinions to have frequently paſſed a majority, as he would be aſhamed to advance in private converſation. I ſay nothing of cruelty, oppreſſion, injuſtice, and the like, becauſe theſe are fairly to be accounted for in all aſſemblies, as beſt gratifying the paſſions and intereſts of leaders; which is a point of ſuch high conſideration, that all others muſt give place to it. But I would be underſtood here to ſpeak only of opinions ridiculous, fooliſh, and abſurd; with concluſions and actions ſuitable to them, at the ſame time when the moſt reaſonable propoſitions are often unanimouſly rejected.

And, as all aſſemblies of men are liable to this accuſation, ſo likewiſe there are natural abſurdities from which the wiſeſt ſtates are not exempt, which proceed leſs from the nature of their climate than that of their government; the Gauls, the Britons, the Spaniards, and Italians, having retained

retained very little of the characters given them in antient hiſtory.

By theſe and the like reflexions, I have been often led to conſider ſome public abſurdities in our own country, moſt of which are, in my opinion, directly againſt the rules of right reaſon, and are attended with great inconveniences to the ſtate. I ſhall mention ſuch of them as come into memory, without obſerving any method; and I ſhall give my reaſon why I take them to be abſurd in their nature, and pernicious in their conſequence.

It is abſurd that any perſon, who profeſſeth a different form of worſhip from that which is national, ſhould be truſted with a vote for electing members in the Houſe of Commons. Becauſe every man is full of zeal for his own religion, although he regards not morality; and, therefore, will endeavour to his utmoſt to bring in a repreſentative of his own principles, which, if they be popular, may endanger the religion eſtabliſhed; which, as it hath formerly happened, may alter the whole frame of government.

A ſtanding army in England, whether in time of peace or war, is a direct abſurdity. For, it is no part of our buſineſs to be a

warlike nation, otherwiſe than by our fleets. In foreign wars we have no concern, further than in conjunction with allies, whom we may either aſſiſt by ſea, or by foreign troops paid with our money. But mercenary troops in England can be of no uſe, except to awe ſenates, and thereby promote arbitrary power in a monarchy or oligarchy.

That the election of ſenators ſhould be of any charge to the candidates, is an abſurdity; but, that it ſhould be ſo to a miniſtry, is a manifeſt acknowledgement of the worſt deſigns. If a miniſtry intended the ſervice of their prince and country, or well underſtood wherein their own ſecurity beſt conſiſted, (as it is impoſſible that a parliament freely elected, according to the original inſtitution, can do any hurt to a tolerable prince, or a tolerable miniſtry;) they would uſe the ſtrongeſt methods to leave the people to their own free choice: The members would then conſiſt of perſons who had beſt eſtates in the neighbourhood or county, or at leaſt never of ſtrangers. And ſurely this is at leaſt full as requiſite a circumſtance to a legiſlator, as to a juryman, who ought to be, if poſſible, *ex vicinio*; ſince ſuch perſons muſt be

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed the beſt judges of the wants and deſires of their ſeveral burroughs and counties. To chuſe a repreſentative for Berwick, whoſe eſtate is at the Land's-End, would have been thought in former times a very great ſoleciſm, how much more as it is at preſent, where ſo many perſons are returned for burroughs, who do not poſſeſs a foot of land in the kingdom.

By the old conſtitution, whoever poſſeſſed a free-hold in land, by which he was a gainer of forty ſhillings a year, had the privilege to vote for a knight of the ſhire. The good effects of this law are wholly eluded, partly by the courſe of time, and partly by corruption. Forty ſhillings in thoſe ages were equal to twenty pounds in ours; and therefore it was then a want of ſagacity to fix that privilege to a determinate ſum, rather than to a certain quantity of land, arable or paſture, able to produce a certain quantity of corn or hay. And therefore it is highly abſurd, and againſt the intent of the law, that this defect is not regulated.

But the matter is ſtill worſe: For any gentleman can, upon occaſion, make as many freeholders as his eſtate or ſettlement will *allow*, by making leaſes for life

of land at a rack rent of forty ſhillings, where a tenant, who is not worth one farthing a year, when his rent is paid, ſhall be held a legal voter for a perſon to repreſent his county. Neither do I enter into half the frauds that are practiſed upon this occaſion.

It is likewiſe abſurd, that burroughs decayed are not abſolutely extinguiſhed, becauſe the returned members do in reality repreſent nobody at all, and that ſeveral large towns are not repreſented, though full of induſtrious townſmen, who much advance the trade of the kingdom.

The claim of Senators, to have themſelves and ſervants exempted from law-ſuits and arreſts, is manifeſtly abſurd. The proceedings at law are already ſo ſcandalous a grievance, upon account of the delays, that they little need any addition. Whoever is either not able, or not willing to pay his juſt debts, or, to keep other men out of their lands, would evade the deciſion of the law, is ſurely but ill-qualified to be a legiſlator. A criminal, with as good reaſon, might ſit on the bench, with a power of condemning men to be hanged for their honeſty. By the annual ſitting of parliaments, *and* the days of privilege preceding and

ſubſequent,

ſubſequent, a ſenator is one half of the year beyond the reach of common juſtice.

That the ſacred perſon of a Senator's footman ſhould be free from arreſt, although he undoes the poor ale-wife by running on ſcore, is a circumſtance of equal wiſdom and juſtice, to avoid the great evil of his maſter's lady wanting her complement of liveries behind the coach.

SHORT
REMARKS
ON
BISHOP BURNET's HISTORY.

THIS author is in moſt particulars the worſt qualified for an hiſtorian that ever I met with. His ſtyle is rough, full of improprieties, in expreſſions often Scotch, and often ſuch as are uſed by the meaneſt people. He diſcovers a great ſcarcity of words and phraſes, by repeating the ſame ſeveral hundred times, for want of capacity to vary them. His obſervations are mean and trite, and very often falſe. His Secret Hiſtory is generally made up of coffee-houſe ſcandals, or at beſt from reports at the third, fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the Pretender's birth, would only become an old woman in a chimney-corner. His vanity runs intolerably through the whole book, affecting to have been of conſequence at nineteen years old, and while he was a little Scotch parſon of 40 pounds a year. He was a gentleman born, and, in the time of his youth and vigour, drew

in an old maiden daughter of a Scotch Earl to marry him. His characters are miſerably wrought, in many things miſtaken, and all of them detracting, except of thoſe who were friends to the Preſbyterians. That early love of liberty he boaſts of is abſolutely falſe; for the firſt book that I believe he ever publiſhed is an entire treatiſe in favour of paſſive obedience and abſolute power; ſo that his reflexions on the clergy, for aſſerting, and then changing thoſe principles, come very improperly from him. He is the moſt partial of all writers that ever pretended ſo much to impartiality; and yet I, who knew him well, am convinced that he is as impartial as he could poſſibly find in his heart: I am ſure more than I ever expected from him; particularly in his accounts of the Papiſt and Fanatic plots. This work may be more properly called A Hiſtory of Scotland during the author's time, with ſome digreſſions relating to England, rather than deſerve the title he gives it. For I believe two thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation, and their inſignificant brangles and factions. What he ſucceeds beſt in, is in giving extracts of arguments and debates in council or parliament. Nothing recom-

mends his book but the recency of the facts he mentions, moſt of them being ſtill in memory, eſpecially the ſtory of the Revolution; which, however, is not ſo well told as might be expected from one who affects to have had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in it. After all, he was a man of generoſity and good-nature, and very communicative; but, in his ten laſt years, was abſolute party-mad, and fancied he ſaw Popery under every buſh. He hath told me many paſſages not mentioned in this Hiſtory, and many that are, but with ſeveral circumſtances ſuppreſſed or altered. He never gives a good character without one eſſential point, that the perſon was tender to diſſenters, and thought many things in the church ought to be amended.

Setting up for a maxim, Laying down for a maxim, Clapt up, Decency, and ſome other words and phraſes, he uſes many hundred times.

Cut out for a Court, A pardoning planet, Clapt up, Left in the lurch, The Mob, Outed, A great beauty, Went roundly to work: All theſe phraſes uſed by the vulgar, ſhew him to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth.

A N

AN

ABSTRACT

OF THE

[STORY of ENGLAND,

m the Invaſion of it by JULIUS CÆSAR to WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

THE moſt antient account we have of Britain is, that the iſland was full inhabitants, divided into ſeveral petty gdoms, as moſt nations of the world ear to have been at firſt. The bodies the Britons were painted with a ſky- oured blue, either as an ornament or for terror to their enemies. In their igion they were Heathens, as all the rld was before CHRIST, except the Jews. Their prieſts were called Druids: Theſe ed in hollow trees, and committed not ir myſteries to writing, but delivered m down by tradition, whereby they re in time wholly loſt. Britons. Heathens. Druids.

The Britons had wives in common, ſo ny to a particular tribe or ſociety, and children were in common to that ſo- ty.

About

About fifty years before Chriſt, Jul Cæſar, the firſt Roman Emperor, hav conquered Gaul or France, invaded Brit rather to increaſe his glory than conque for, having overcome the natives in one two battles, he returned.

The next invaſion of Britain by the R mans (then maſters of moſt of the kno world) was in the reign of the Empe Claudius. Claudius; but it was not wholly ſubdu Nero. till that of Nero. It was governed by li tenants, or deputies, ſent from Rome, Ireland is now by deputies from Englan and continued thus under the Romans about 460 years; till that empire ing invaded by the Goths and Vandals, t Romans were forced not only to recal th own armies, but alſo to draw from he the braveſt of the Britons, for their aſ ance againſt thoſe Barbarians.

The Roman conqueſts in this iſl reached no further northward than to t part of Scotland where Stirling and G gow are ſeated: The region beyond held not worth the conquering: It was habited by a barbarous people, called C Picts. donians and Picts; who, being a ro fierce nation, daily infeſted the Britiſh ders. Therefore the Emperor Sev

t a wall, from Stirling to Glaſgow, to Picts wall.
ent the invaſions of the Picts: It is
monly called the Picts Wall.
heſe Picts and Caledonians, or Scots,
ıuraged by the departure of the Ro-
ıs, do now cruelly infeſt and invade
Britons by ſea and land: The Britons
ſe Vortigern for their king, who was A.D.455.
ed to invite the Saxons, (a fierce nor- Saxons.
n people) to aſſiſt him againſt thoſe
barians. The Saxons came over, and
t the Picts in ſeveral battles; but, at
pick quarrels with the Britons them-
es; and, after a long war, drive them
) the mountains of Wales and Corn-
l, and eſtabliſh themſelves in ſeven
gdoms in Britain, (by them now called
gland.) Theſe ſeven kingdoms are uſu-
r ſtiled the Saxon Heptarchy.
bout this time lived King Arthur (if A.D.460. Arthur.
whole ſtory be not a fable) who was
famous for beating the Saxons in ſeveral
tles.
The Britons received Chriſtianity very
ly, and, as is reported, from ſome of
: diſciples themſelves: So that, when the
mans left Britain, the Britons were gene-
ly Chriſtians. But the Saxons were Hea-
ns, till Pope Gregory the Great ſent over
hither

A.D 600. Auſtin. hither Auſtin the Monk, by whom Ethelbert king of the South-Saxons, and his ſubjects, were converted to Chriſtianity, and the whole iſland ſoon followed their example.

After many various revolutions in the iſland among the kingdoms of the Saxons, Egbert. A.D. 819. Egbert, deſcended from the Weſt-Saxon kings, became ſole monarch of England.

The language in Britain was Britiſh (now called Welch) or Latin; but, with the Saxons, Engliſh came in (although extremely different from what it is now). The preſent names of towns, ſhires, &c. were given by them; and the whole kingdom was called England from the Angles. Angles, who were a branch of the Saxons.

As ſoon as the Saxons were ſettled, the Danes. Danes began to trouble and invade them as they (the Saxons) had before done the Britons.

Theſe Danes came out of Germany, Denmark, and Norway, a rough warlike people, little different from the Saxons, to whom they were nigh neighbours.

After many invaſions from the Danes, Edgar. Edgar king of England ſets forth the firſt navy. He was entitled King of all Albion (an old name of this iſland) and was the firſt

t abſolute monarch. He made peace
:h the Danes, and allowed them to live
his dominions mixt with the Engliſh.
n this Prince's time there were five
ıgs in Wales, who all did him homage
their country.

Theſe Danes began firſt to make their
aſions here about the year 800, which
y after renewed at ſeveral times, and
ler ſeveral leaders, and were as often
ulſed. They uſed to come with vaſt
mbers of ſhips, burn and ravage before
m, as the cities of London, Wincheſter,
. Encouraged by ſucceſs and prey, they
en wintered in England, fortifying
mſelves in the northern parts, from
ence they cruelly infeſted the Saxon
ıgs. In proceſs of time they mixed with
Engliſh (as was ſaid before) and lived
ler the Saxon government: But Ethel-
, then king of England, weary of the
ıiſh inſolence, a conſpiracy is formed, A.D. 978. Danes maſſacred.
l the Danes are maſſacred in one day all
r England.

our years after, Sweyn king of Den- Sweyn.
rk, to revenge the death of his ſubjects,
ades England; and, after battles fought
much cruelty exerciſed, he ſubdues
the

the whole kingdom, forcing Ethelred to fly into Normandy.

Canutus. Sweyn dying, his ſon Canutus ſucceeds in the kingdom; but Ethelred returning with an army, Canutus is forced to withdraw to Denmark for ſuccour.

Ethelred dies, and his ſon Edmond Ironſide ſucceeds; but, Canutus returning with freſh forces from Denmark, after ſeveral battles, the kingdom is parted between them both. Edmond dying, his ſons are ſent beyond ſea by Canutus, who now is ſole king of England.

Hardicanute, the laſt Daniſh king, dying without iſſue, Edward, ſon of Ethelred, is choſen king. For his great holineſs, he was ſirnamed the Confeſſor, and ſainted after his death. He was the firſt of our princes that attempted to cure the king's evil by touching. He firſt introduced what is now called the Common Law. In his time began the mode and humour among the Engliſh gentry, of uſing the French tongue and faſhions, in compliance with the King, who had been bred up in Normandy.

King's Evil.

The Daniſh government in England laſted but twenty-ſix years, under three kings.

Edward

dward the Confeſſor married the daugh-
of Earl Godwin, an Engliſh nobleman
great power, but of Daniſh extraction;
, wanting iſſue, he appointed Edgar
eling, grandſon to his brother, to ſuc-
d him, and Harold, ſon of Earl Godwin, Harold.
be governor of the young prince. But,
on Edward's death, Harold neglected
gar Atheling, and uſurped the crown
himſelf.

Edward, while he was in Normandy, met
good reception, that it was ſaid he made
promiſe to that Duke, that, in caſe he
covered his kingdom, and died without
ſue, he would leave it to him. Edward
ing, William Duke of Normandy ſends
Harold to claim the crown; but Harold,
w in poſſeſſion, reſolves to keep it. Upon
hich Duke William, having prepared a
ighty fleet and army, invades England,
nds at Haſtings, and ſets fire to his fleet,
cut off all hope from his men of re-
rning. To Harold he ſent his meſſen-
r, demanding the kingdom and his ſub-
tion: But Harold returned him this
ſwer, That, unleſs he departed his land,
would make him ſenſible of his juſt
ſpleaſure. So Harold advanced his forces
to Suſſex, within ſeven miles of his ene-

my.

my. The Norman Duke, to ſave the e
ſion of blood, ſent theſe offers to Haro
either wholly to reſign the kingdom
him, or to try the quarrel with him
ſingle combat. To this Harold did
agree.

Then the battle joined. The Norma
had gotten the worſt, if it had not been
a ſtratagem they invented, which
them the day. In this engagement Har
A. D. 1066. was killed, and William Duke of Norman became king of England, under the na of William the Conqueror.

A LETTER TO A MEMBER of PARLIAMENT In IRELAND,

Upon the chuſing a new SPEAKER there.

Written in the Year 1708.

SIR,

YOU may eaſily believe I am not at all ſurpriſed at what you tell me, ſince it is but a confirmation of my own conjecture that I ſent you laſt week, and made you my reproaches upon it at a venture. It looks exceeding ſtrange, yet I believe it to be a great truth, that, in order to carry a point in your Houſe, the two following circumſtances are of great advantage: Firſt, to have an ill cauſe; and, ſecondly, to be a minority. For both theſe circumſtances are extremely apt to invite men, to make them aſſiduous in their attendance, watchful of opportunities, zealous for gaining over proſelytes, and often ſucceſsful; which is not to be wondered at, when

favour and intereſt are on the ſide of their opinion. Whereas, on the contrary, a majority with a good cauſe are negligent and ſupine. They think it ſufficient to declare themſelves upon opinion in favour of their party; but, failing againſt the tide of favour and preferment, they are eaſily ſcattered and driven back. In ſhort, they want a common principle to cement, and motive to ſpirit them. For the bare acting upon a principle from the dictates of a good conſcience, or proſpect of ſerving the public, will not go very far under the preſent diſpoſitions of mankind. This was amply verified laſt ſeſſions of parliament, upon occaſion of the money-bill, the merits of which I ſhall not pretend to examine. It is enough that, upon the firſt news of its tranſmiſſion hither, in the form it afterwards appeared, the members, upon diſcourſe with their friends, ſeemed unanimous againſt it, I mean thoſe of both parties, except a few, who were looked upon as perſons ready to go any lengths preſcribed them by the court. Yet with only a weak canvaſſing among a very few hands, the bill paſt after a full debate, by a very great majority. Yet, I believe, you will hardly attempt perſuading me, or any body

body elſe, that one man in ten, of thoſe who changed their language, were moved by reaſons any way affecting the merits of the cauſe, but merely through hope, fear, indolence, or good-manners. Nay, I have been aſſured from good hands, that there was ſtill a number ſufficient to make a majority againſt the bill, if they had not apprehended the other ſide to be ſecure, and therefore thought it imprudence, by declaring themſelves, to diſoblige the government to no purpoſe.

Reflecting upon this and forty other paſſages, in the ſeveral Houſes of Commons ſince the Revolution, makes me apt to think there is nothing a Chief Governor can be commanded to attempt here wherein he may not ſucceed, with a very competent ſhare of addreſs, and with ſuch aſſiſtance as he will always find ready at his devotion. And therefore I repeat what I ſaid at firſt, that I am not at all ſurpriſed at what you tell me. For, if there had been the leaſt ſpark of public ſpirit left, thoſe who wiſhed well to their country and its conſtitution in church and ſtate, ſhould, upon the firſt news of the late ſpeaker's promotion, (and you and I know it might have been done a great deal ſooner) have

immediately gone together, and conſulted about the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed him. But, by all I can comprehend, you have been ſo far from proceeding thus, that it hardly ever came into any of your heads. And the reaſon you give is the worſt in the world: That none offered themſelves, and you knew not whom to pitch upon. It ſeems, however, the other party was more reſolved, or at leaſt not ſo modeſt: For you ſay your vote is engaged againſt your opinion, and ſeveral gentlemen in my neighbourhood tell me the ſame ſtory of themſelves. This, I confeſs, is of an unuſual ſtrain, and a good many ſteps below any condeſcenſions a court will, I hope, ever require from you. I ſhall not trouble myſelf to enquire who is the perſon for whom you and others are engaged, or whether there be more candidates from that ſide than one. You tell me nothing of either, and I never thought it worth the queſtion to any body elſe. But, in ſo weighty an affair, and againſt your judgment, I cannot look upon you as irrevocably determined. Therefore I deſire you will give me leave to reaſon with you a little upon the ſubject, leſt your compliance, or inadvertency, ſhould put you upon what

you

u may have cauſe to repent of as long you live.

You know very well, the great buſineſs the high-flying Whigs, at this juncture, to endeavour a repeal of the Teſt-clauſe. ou know likewiſe that the moderate men, th of High and Low-church, profeſs to wholly averſe from this deſign, as think-g it beneath the policy of common gar-ners to cut down the only hedge that elters from the north. Now, I will put e caſe: If the perſon to whom you have omiſed your vote be one of whom you ve the leaſt apprehenſion that he will omote or aſſent to the repealing of that uſe, whether it be decent or proper he ould be the mouth of an aſſembly, ereof a very great majority pretend to hor his opinion? Can a body, whoſe outh and heart muſt go ſo contrary ys, ever act with ſincerity, or hardly th conſiſtence? Such a man is no pro-r vehicle to retain or convey the ſenſe the Houſe, which, in ſo many points of e greateſt moment, will be directly con-ry to his. It is full as abſurd, as to pre-: a man to a biſhopric who denies re-aled religion. But it may poſſibly be a eat deal worſe. What if the perſon you

deſign to vote into that important poſt, ſhould not only be a declared enemy of the Sacramental Teſt, but ſhould prove to be a ſolicitor, an encourager, or even a penner of addreſſes to complain of it? Do you think it ſo indifferent a thing, that a promiſe of courſe, the effect of compliance, importunity, ſhame of refuſing, or any the like motive, ſhall oblige you paſt the power of retracting?

Perhaps you will tell me, as ſome have already had the weakneſs, that it is of little importance to either party to have a ſpeaker of their ſide, his buſineſs being only to take the ſenſe of the Houſe and report it; that you often, at committees, put an able ſpeaker into the chair on purpoſe to prevent him from ſtopping a bill. Why, if it were no more than this; I believe I ſhould hardly chuſe, even among my footmen, ſuch a one to deliver a meſſage, whoſe intereſt and opinion led him to wiſh it might miſcarry. But I remember to have heard Colonel Birch of Herefordſhire ſay, that he was a very ſorry ſpeaker, whoſe ſingle vote was not better than fifty common ones. I am ſure it is reckoned in England the firſt great teſt of the prevalency of either party in the Houſe.

Sir

r Thomas Lyttelton thought, that a Houſe
f Commons with a ſtinking breath (ſup-
poſing the Speaker to be the mouth) would
go near to infect every thing within the
walls, and a great deal without. It is the
ſmalleſt part of an able Speaker's buſineſs,
what he performs in the Houſe, at leaſt if
ie be in with the court, when it is hard to
ay how many converts may be made in a
ircle of dinner or private cabals. And
ou and I eaſily call to mind a gentleman
ı that ſtation, in England, who, by his
wn arts and perſonal credit, was able to
:aw over a majority, and change the
hole power of a prevailing ſide in a nice
ncture of affairs, and made a parliament
:pire in one party who had lived in ano-
ıer.

I am far from an inclination to multiply
ırty-cauſes, but ſurely the beſt of us can
ith very ill grace make that an objection,
ho have not been ſo nice in matters of
uch leſs importance. Yet I have heard
me perſons of both ſides gravely deliver
emſelves in this manner, Why ſhould we
ake the chuſing a ſpeaker a party-cauſe?
:t us fix upon one who is well verſed in
e practices and methods of parliament.
ıd I believe there are too many who

would talk at the ſame rate, if the queſtion were not only about aboliſhing the ſacramental teſt, but the ſacrament itſelf.

But ſuppoſe the principles of the moſt artful Speaker would have no influence either to obtain or obſtruct any point in parliament, who can anſwer what effects ſuch a choice may produce without doors? It is obvious how ſuch a matter ſerves to raiſe the ſpirits and hopes of the Diſſenters and their high-flying advocates, what lengths they run, what concluſions they form, and what hopes they entertain. Do they hear of a new friend in office? That is encouragement enough to practiſe the city, againſt the opinion of a majority, into an addreſs to the Queen for repealing the Sacramental Teſt; or iſſue out their orders to the next fanatic parſon to furbiſh up his old ſermons, and preach and print new ones directly againſt Epiſcopacy. I would lay a good wager, that, if the choice of a new Speaker ſucceeds exactly to their liking, we ſhall ſee it ſoon followed by many new attempts, either in the form of pamphlet, ſermon, or addreſs, to the ſame, or perhaps more dangerous purpoſes.

Suppoſing the Speaker's office to be only an employment of profit and honour, and

a ſtep

a ſtep to a better; ſince it is in your own gift, will you not chuſe to beſtow it upon ſome perſon whoſe principles the majority of you pretends to approve, if it were only to be ſure of a worthy man hereafter in a high ſtation, on the bench or at the bar?

I confeſs, if it were a thing poſſible to be compaſſed, it would ſeem moſt reaſonable to fill the chair with ſome perſon who would be entirely devoted to neither party: But, ſince there are ſo few of that character, and thoſe either unqualified or unfriended, I cannot ſee how a majority will anſwer it to their reputation, to be ſo ill provided of able perſons, that they muſt have recourſe for a leader to their adverſaries, a proceeding of which I never met with above one example, and even that ſucceeded but ill, though it was recommended by an oracle, which adviſed ſome city in Greece to beg a General from their enemies, who, in ſcorn, ſent them either a fidler or a poet, I have forgotten which; but ſo much I remember, that his conduct was ſuch, as they ſoon grew weary of him.

You pretend to be heartily reſolved againſt repealing the Sacramental Teſt, yet, at the ſame time, give the only great employment you have to diſpoſe of to a per-

ſon

ſon who will take that teſt againſt ſtomach, (by which word I underſtand many a man's conſcience) who earneſtly wiſheth it repealed, and will endeavour it to the utmoſt of his power; ſo that the firſt action after you meet, will be a ſort of contravention to that Teſt: And will any body go further than your practice to judge of your principles?

And now I am upon this ſubject, I cannot conclude without ſaying ſomething to a very popular argument againſt that Sacramental Teſt, which may be apt to ſhake many of thoſe who would otherwiſe wiſh well enough to it. They ſay it was a new hardſhip put upon the Diſſenters, without any provocation; and, it is plain, could be no way neceſſary, becauſe we had peaceably lived together ſo long without it. They add ſome other circumſtances of the arts by which it was obtained, and the perſon by whom it was inſerted. Surely ſuch people do not conſider that the penal laws againſt Diſſenters were made wholly ineffectual by the connivance and mercy of the government, ſo that all employments of the ſtate lay as open to them as they did to the beſt and moſt legal ſubjects. And what progreſs they

:y would have made by the advantages a late conjuncture, is obvious to ima-ıe; which I take to be a full anſwer to ıt objection.

I remember, upon the tranſmiſſion of at bill with the Teſt-clauſe inſerted, the ſſenters and their partizans, among other pics, ſpoke much of the good effects pro-ıced by the lenity of the government: ıat the Preſbyterians were grown very conſiderable in their number and qua-y, and would daily come into the church, we did not fright them from it by new verities. When the act was paſſed, they eſently changed their ſtyle, and raiſed a ımour, through both kingdoms, of the eat numbers of conſiderable gentry who ere laid aſide, and could no longer ſerve eir Queen and country: Which hyperbo-:al way of reckoning, when it came to : melted down into truth, amounted to ɔout fifteen country-juſtices, moſt of them : the loweſt ſize, for eſtate, quality, or ıderſtanding. However, this puts me in ıind of a paſſage told me by a great man, though I know not whether it be any here recorded. That a complaint was ıade to the King and Council of Sweden, : a prodigious ſwarm of Scots, who, un-

der the condition of pedlars, infeſted that kingdom to ſuch a degree, as, if not ſuddenly prevented, might in time prove dangerous to the ſtate, by joining with any diſcontented party. Meanwhile the Scots, by their agents, placed a good ſum of money to engage the offices of the prime miniſter in their behalf; who, in order to their defence, told the Council, He was aſſured they were but a few inconſiderable people, that lived honeſtly and poorly, and were not of any conſequence. Their enemies offered to prove the contrary: Whereupon an order was made to take their numbers, which was found to amount, as I remember, to about thirty thouſand. The affair was again brought before the Council, and great reproaches made the firſt miniſter, for his ill computation; who, preſently taking the other handle, ſaid, he had reaſon to believe the number yet greater than what was returned; and then gravely offered to the King's conſideration, whether it were ſafe to render deſperate ſo great a body of able men, who had little to loſe, and whom any hard treatment would only ſerve to unite into a power capable of diſturbing, if not deſtroying the peace of the kingdom. And ſo they were ſuffered to continue.

SOME

SOME FEW

THOUGHTS

CONCERNING

THE REPEAL OF THE TEST.

THOSE of either ſide who have written upon this ſubject of the Teſt, in making or anſwering objections, ſeem to fail by not preſſing ſufficiently the chief point upon which the controverſy turns. The arguments uſed by thoſe who write for the church are very good in their kind, but will have little force under the preſent corruptions of mankind, becauſe the authors treat this ſubject *tanquam in republica Platonis, et non in fæce Romuli.*

It muſt be confeſſed, that, conſidering how few employments of any conſequence fall to the ſhare of thoſe Engliſh who are born in this kingdom, and thoſe few very dearly purchaſed, at the expence of conſcience, liberty, and all regard for the public good, they are not worth contending for: And, if nothing but profit were in the caſe, it would hardly coſt me one ſigh when I ſhould ſee thoſe few ſcraps thrown among

among every ſpecies of Fanatics, to ſcuffle for among themſelves.

And this will infallibly be the caſe, after repealing the Teſt. For, every ſubdiviſion of ſect will, with equal juſtice, pretend to have a ſhare; and, as it is uſual with ſharers, will never think they have enough, while any pretender is left unprovided. I ſhall not except the Quakers; becauſe, when the paſſage is once let open for all ſects to partake in public emoluments, it is very probable the lawfulneſs of taking oaths, and wearing carnal weapons, may be revealed to the brotherhood; which thought, I confeſs, was firſt put into my head by one of the ſhrewdeſt Quakers in this kingdom *.

* Undoubtedly the Quaker hinted at by Dr. Swift was the late Mr. Rooke; a man who had a very good taſte for wit, had read abundance of hiſtory, and was perhaps the moſt learned Quaker, one of them, in the world. To the beſt of my recollection, he was the author of a good humorous paſtoral in the Quaker-ſtyle.

MAXIMS

MAXIMS

CONTROLLED

IN IRELAND.

The Truth of ſome Maxims in State and Government, examined with reference to Ireland.

THERE are certain Maxims of State, founded upon long obſervation and experience, drawn from the conſtant practice of the wiſeſt nations, and from the very principles of government, nor ever controlled by any writer upon politics. Yet all theſe Maxims do neceſſarily preſuppoſe a kingdom, or commonwealth, to have the ſame natural rights common to the reſt of mankind who have entered into civil ſociety. For, if we could conceive a nation where each of the inhabitants had but one eye, one leg, and one hand, it is plain that, before you could inſtitute them into a republic, an allowance muſt be made for thoſe material defects, wherein they differed from other

mortals.

mortals. Or, imagine a legiſlator forming a ſyſtem for the government of Bedlam, and, proceeding upon the maxim that man is a ſociable animal, ſhould draw them out of their cells, and form them into corporations or general aſſemblies; the conſequence might probably be, that they would fall foul on each other, or burn the houſe over their own heads.

Of the like nature are innumerable errors, committed by crude and ſhort thinkers, who reaſon upon general topics, without the leaſt allowance for the moſt important circumſtances, which quite alter the nature of the caſe.

This hath been the fate of thoſe ſmall dealers, who are every day publiſhing their thoughts either on paper or in their aſſemblies for improving the trade of Ireland, and referring us to the practice and example of England, Holland, France, or other nations.

I ſhall therefore examine certain Maxims of government, which generally paſs for uncontrolled in the world, and conſider how far they will ſuit with the preſent condition of this kingdom.

Firſt, it is affirmed by wiſe men, that the dearneſs of things neceſſary for life, in a fruitful

fruitful country, is a certain ſign of wealth and great commerce: For, when ſuch neceſſaries are dear, it muſt abſolutely follow that money is cheap and plentiful.

But this is manifeſtly falſe in Ireland, for the following reaſon. Some years ago, the ſpecies of money here, did probably amount to ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; and I have good cauſe to believe, that our remittances then did not much exceed the caſh brought in to us. But the prodigious diſcouragements we have ſince received in every branch of our trade, by the frequent enforcements, and rigorous execution of the navigation-act, the tyranny of under cuſtom-houſe officers, the yearly addition of abſentees, the payments to regiments abroad, to civil and military officers reſiding in England, the unexpected ſudden demands of great ſums from the treaſury, and ſome other drains of perhaps as great conſequence, we now ſee ourſelves reduced to a ſtate (ſince we have no friends) of being pitied by our enemies, at leaſt, if our enemies were of ſuch a kind as to be capable of any regards towards us, except of hatred and contempt.

Forty years are now paſſed ſince the Revolution, when the contention of the Britiſh empire was, moſt unfortunately for us, and altogether againſt the uſual courſe of ſuch mighty changes in government, decided in the leaſt important nation, but with ſuch ravages and ruin executed on both ſides, as to leave the kingdom a deſert, which, in ſome ſort, it ſtill continues. Neither did the long rebellions in 1641 make half ſuch a deſtruction of houſes, plantations, and perſonal wealth, in both kingdoms, as two years campaigns did in ours, by fighting England's battles.

By ſlow degrees, and by the gentle treatment we received under two auſpicious reigns, we grew able to live without running in debt. Our abſentees were but few, we had great indulgence in trade, a conſiderable ſhare in employments of church and ſtate; and, while the ſhort leaſes continued, which were let ſome years after the war ended, tenants paid their rents with eaſe and chearfulneſs, to the great regret of their landlords, who had taken up a ſpirit of oppreſſion that is not eaſily removed. And although, in theſe ſhort leaſes, the rent was gradually to encreaſe after ſhort periods; yet, as ſoon as

the term elapſed, the land was let to the higheſt bidder, moſt commonly without the leaſt effectual clauſe for building or planting. Yet by many advantages, which this iſland then poſſeſſed, and hath ſince utterly loſt, the rents of lands ſtill grew higher upon every leaſe that expired, till they have arrived at the preſent exorbitance; when the frog, overſwelling himſelf, burſt at laſt.

With the price of land, of neceſſity roſe that of corn and cattle, and all other commodities that farmers deal in: Hence likewiſe, obviouſly, the rates of all goods and manufactures among ſhopkeepers, the wages of ſervants, and hire of labourers. But, although our miſeries came on faſt, with neither trade nor money left, yet neither will the landlord abate in his rent, nor can the tenant abate in the price of what that rent muſt be paid with, nor any ſhopkeeper, tradeſman, or labourer live, at lower expence, for food and clothing, than he did before.

I have been the larger upon this firſt head, becauſe the ſame obſervations will clear up and ſtrengthen a good deal of what I ſhall affirm upon the reſt.

The ſecond Maxim of thoſe who reaſon upon trade and government, is to aſſert, that low intereſt is a certain ſign of great plenty of money in a nation, for which, as in many other articles, they produce the examples of Holland and England. But, with relation to Ireland, this Maxim is likewiſe entirely falſe.

There are two reaſons for the lowneſs of intereſt in any country. Firſt, that which is uſually alledged, the great plenty of ſpecies; and this is obvious. The ſecond is the want of trade, which ſeldom falls under common obſervation, although it be equally true. For, where trade is altogether diſcouraged, there are few borrowers. In thoſe countries where men can employ a large ſtock, the young merchant, whoſe fortune may be four or five hundred pounds, will venture to borrow as much more, and can afford a reaſonable intereſt. Neither is it eaſy at this day to find many of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs reaches to employ even ſo inconſiderable a ſum, except among the importers of wine; who, as they have moſt part of the preſent trade in theſe parts of Ireland in their hands, ſo they are the moſt exorbitant, exacting, fraudulent dealers, that ever

ever trafficked in any nation, and are making all poſſible ſpeed to ruin both themſelves and the nation.

From this defect, of gentlemens not knowing how to diſpoſe of their ready money, ariſeth the high purchaſe of lands, which in all other countries is reckoned a ſign of wealth. For, the frugal ſquires, who live below their incomes, have no other way to diſpoſe of their ſavings but by mortgage or purchaſe, by which the rates of land muſt naturally encreaſe; and, if this trade continues long under the uncertainty of rents, the landed men of ready money will find it more for their advantage to ſend their caſh to England, and place it in the funds; which I myſelf am determined to do, the firſt conſiderable ſum I ſhall be maſter of.

It hath likewiſe been a Maxim among politicians, that the great encreaſe of buildings in the metropolis argues a flouriſhing ſtate. But this, I confeſs, hath been controlled from the example of London; where, by the long and annual parliamentary ſeſſions, ſuch a number of ſenators, with their families, friends, adherents, and expectants, draw ſuch prodigious numbers to that city, that the old hoſpitable cuſtom

of lords and gentlemen living in their antient ſeats, among their tenants, is almoſt loſt in England; is laughed out of doors; in ſo much that, in the middle of ſummer, a legal Houſe of Lords and Commons might be brought in a few hours to London, from their country villas within twelve miles round.

The caſe in Ireland is yet ſomewhat worſe: For the abſentees of great eſtates, who, if they lived at home, would have many rich retainers in their neighbourhoods, having learned to rack their lands, and ſhorten their leaſes, as much as any reſiding ſquire; and the few remaining of theſe latter, having ſome vain hope of employments for themſelves or their children, and diſcouraged by the beggarlineſs and thievery of their own miſerable farmers and cottagers, or ſeduced by the vanity of their wives, on pretence of their children's education, (whereof the fruits are ſo apparent) together with that moſt wonderful and yet more unaccountable zeal for a ſeat in their aſſembly, though at ſome years purchaſe of their whole eſtates. Theſe, and ſome other motives better let paſs, have drawn ſuch a concourſe to this beggarly city, that the dealers of the ſeveral

ral branches of building have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houſes, while fifteen hundred of the old ones, which is a ſeventh part of the whole city, are ſaid to be left uninhabited, and falling to ruin. Their method is the ſame with that which was firſt introduced by Doctor Barebone at London, who died a bankrupt. The maſon, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the ſlater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more houſes, unite their credit, their ſtock, and their money, and when their work is finiſhed, ſell it to the beſt advantage they can. But, as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not anſwer half their deſign, they are forced to underſell it at the firſt ſtory, and are all reduced to beggary. In ſo much that I know a certain fanatic brewer *, who is reported to have ſome hundreds of houſes in this town, is ſaid to have purchaſed the greater part of them at half value from ruined undertakers, hath intelligence of all new houſes where the finiſhing is at a ſtand, takes advantage of the builder's diſtreſs, and, by the ad-

* Leeſon.

vantage of ready money, gets fifty *per cent.* at leaſt for his bargain.

It is another undiſputed Maxim in government, that people are the riches of a nation; which is ſo univerſally granted, that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it in doubt. And I will grant it to be ſo far true, even in this iſland, that, if we had the African cuſtom or privilege, of ſelling our uſeleſs bodies for ſlaves to foreigners, it would be the moſt uſeful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a moſt unſupportable burthen, and bringing us money in the ſtead. But, in our preſent ſituation, at leaſt five children in ſix who are born lie a dead weight upon us for want of employment. And a very ſkillful computer aſſured me, that above one half of the ſouls in this kingdom ſupported themſelves by begging and thievery, whereof two thirds would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour: Where that fails, the poorer native muſt either beg, ſteal, or ſtarve, or be forced to quit his country. This hath made me often wiſh, for ſome years paſt, that, inſtead of diſcouraging our people from ſeeking foreign ſoil, that

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the public would rather pay for tranſporting all our unneceſſary mortals, whether Papiſts or Proteſtants, to America, as drawbacks are ſometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overſtocked. I confeſs myſelf to be touched with a very ſenſible pleaſure, when I hear of a mortality in any country-pariſh or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabin and two ridges of potatoes treble the worth, brought up to ſteal or beg, for want of work, to whom death would be the beſt thing to be wiſhed for, on account both of themſelves and the public.

Among all taxes impoſed by the legiſlature, thoſe upon luxury are univerſally allowed to be the moſt equitable and beneficial to the ſubject; and the commoneſt reaſoner on government might fill a volume with arguments on the ſubject. Yet here again, by the ſingular fate of Ireland, this maxim is utterly falſe; and the puting it in practice may have ſuch pernicious a conſequence, as I certainly believe the thoughts of the propoſers were not able to reach.

The miſeries we ſuffer by our abſentees are of a far more extenſive nature than

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ſeems to be commonly underſtood. I muſt vindicate myſelf to the reader ſo far, as to declare ſolemnly that what I ſhall ſay of thoſe lords and ſquires, doth not ariſe from the leaſt regard I have for their underſtandings, their virtues, or their perſons. For, although I have not the honour of the leaſt acquaintance with any one among them, (my ambition not ſoaring ſo high) yet I am too good a witneſs of the ſituation they have been in for thirty years paſt, the veneration paid them by the people, the high eſteem they are in among the prime nobility and gentry, the particular marks of favour and diſtinction they receive from the court: The weight and conſequence of their intereſt, added to their great zeal and application for preventing any hardſhips their country might ſuffer from England, wiſely conſidering that their own fortunes and honours were embarked in the ſame bottom.

SENT TO

DOCTOR SWIFT,

BY

A QUAKER,

When three hundred pounds were bid for taking up the DRAPIER.

1 SAM. Chap. xiv. Ver. 45.

"AND the people ſaid unto Saul, Shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great ſalvation in Iſrael? God forbid: As the LORD liveth, there ſhall not one hair of his head fall to the ground; for he wrought with GOD this day. So the people reſcued Jonathan, that he died not."

A

LETTER from Sir JOHN BROWNE

TO

DOCTOR SWIFT.

REVEREND SIR, Dawſon-Street, April 4, 1728.

BY a ſtrange fatality, though you were the only perſon in the world from whom I would conceal my being an author, yet you were unaccountably the only one let into the ſecret of it: The ignorant poor man, who was entruſted by me to deliver out the little books, though he kept the ſecret from all others, yet from the nature of the ſubject, he concluded that I could have no intereſt in concealing it from you, who were ſo univerſally known to be an indefatigable promoter of the general welfare of Ireland. But though the accident gave me ſome uneaſineſs at firſt; yet, when I conſider your character, I cannot doubt (however ſlender the foundation of ſuch a hope may be from any merits of my own) but your generoſity will oblige you to conceal what chance has revealed to you, and incline you to judge of me, not from the report

of my enemies, but from what I appear in the little tracts which have waited on you.

I ſhall not preſume, Sir, to detain you with the narrative of the original, and progreſs of the parliamentary accuſations and votes againſt me; although, would you do me the honour to enquire, I could eaſily convince you from my own particular caſe, that men have two characters, one which is either good or bad, according to the prevailing number of their friends or enemies, and one which never varies for either: One which has little or no regard to the virtue or vice of the ſubject, and one which regards that alone, is inherent (if I may ſay ſo) in the ſubject, and deſcribes it what it really is, without regard either to friends or enemies.

All I ſhall beg of you, is to ſuſpend your judgment upon it, ſince all parties allow that although I had ſeveral ſummons from the Committee for Monday, and many evidences on the road in obedience to their ſummons, yet I was tied down by the Committee the preceding Saturday, and deprived of the benefit of all my evidences, notwithſtanding any thing I could urge to the contrary. This I hope I may

ſay

ſay without injury to Mr. Bingham: For ſure he may be intirely innocent, and yet a magiſtrate under the immediate direction of the Lord Chief-Juſtice who takes examinations againſt him: Examinations that do not even contain matter to form an indictment upon, may be innocent alſo.

It ſhall ſuffice therefore to ſay, I went from Ireland loaded with the ſevereſt cenſures of the Houſe of Commons: Injured, as I thought, and oppreſſed to the greateſt degree imaginable, robbed of that character which was dearer to me than life itſelf; and all that by an overbearing, overpowering intereſt.

I ſought, in England, for that peace and protection which was denied me at home. My public character followed me: My countrymen avoided me. The nature of man is ſociable: I was forced to herd with ſtrangers. A Prime Miniſter, engaged in the ſucceſs of a ſcheme, wants no emiſſaries to ſpy out all that makes for him, and to fly with what they have found to their employer. I was unfortunately ſet by thoſe ſort of creatures: My ſentiments on the ſtate of our money-matters were induſtriouſly ſifted through me; and when that

that was done, before I knew any thing of the matter, I was ſerved with his Majeſty's ſummons: In a hurry I ran out of town, and ſtaid in the country a while; but, on my return again, found another ſummons at my lodgings; and, terrified by the diſmal effects of power at home from riſking a ſecond ſhipwreck abroad, I yielded to it, and appeared at the Cockpit.

It is true my appearance at the Cockpit, to thoſe who knew me only by the votes of the Houſe of Commons, muſt have looked like a deſign of revenge; and I had many and powerful enemies, who gave all my actions the worſt colour. But, to take the matter impartially, Sir, is there no allowance to be made for a mind already broken by the diſmal effects of prevailing power, and filled with the apprehenſions of ſecond dangers? Is there no allowance for a man, young in the knowledge of the world, under all theſe fears and misfortunes, if he has yielded to the repeated ſummons of the Council of England, in which his Majeſty was preſent, and if he was there, after a long and ſtrenuous oppoſition, forced to tell his ſentiments? Forced, Sir, to tell his ſentiments, not in the manner repreſented to the world, but in a manner

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the moſt cautious of giving room for a pretence to oppoſe the inclinations of our parliament.

But, alas, the conſequence! You, Sir, the defender of Ireland, were ſoon engaged againſt me on that account; and that fatal genius of yours, in an inſtant, ruined my character; but even ruin-bearing as it was, I bleſſed it: The cauſe which you undertook was dear to me; and though fame is the laſt thing which one would ſacrifice even for his country, yet I parted with that with pleaſure, whilſt you thought it neceſſary for the public good ſo to do: But now the end is ſerved, Dear Sir, may not the man have his mare again?

Plato being told that certain perſons aſperſed his character, and repreſented him abroad as a very ill man; inſtead of expoſtulating with his enemies, and returning reproach for reproach, concealed himſelf, ſaying, *No matter, my friends, the whole life of Plato ſhall give his accuſers the lie.*

Could I ſet before me a greater example? Under the general diſpleaſure of my country, under all the cenſures which the reſtleſs malice of my enemies could deviſe, and under the keen edge of the Drapier's wit; the only revenge I indulged myſelf, was

was by a ſteady love for my country, and by manifeſt acts of affection thereto, to be a ſilent reproach to the foul tongues of my enemies.

Permit then, Sir, permit me in peace to take his great example; and no longer give way to the power of my enemies, by continuing to oppreſs me. They have already gained their cauſe by you: But I muſt ſay, it was not the ſword of Ajax, but the armour of Achilles which he put on, that won the day.

The cauſe for which you undertook my ruin, was the cauſe of my country: It was a good cauſe, and you ſhall ever find me of that ſide. You have carried it, and I know you will no longer be my enemy. But alas! Sir, as long as your works ſubſiſt, where ever they be read, even unto the end of time, muſt I be branded as a villain. It is a hard ſentence; and yet unleſs the ſpear of Achilles, the ſame inſtrument which gave the wound, adminiſter the remedy, it muſt be ſo.

In ſhort, Sir, you muſt be a man of honour: It is not poſſible that honour ſhould be wanting where all the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of it are found: I cannot

doubt it; and therefore I will let you fully into a ſecret which accident has given you a part of, and I am ſure you will keep it.

The ſource of all my misfortunes was the vote of the Houſe of Commons; but I have laboured however, as I always ſhall, to ſerve my country and make myſelf agreeable to them: And though the misfortune of a bad public character deprived me of the private converſation of my countrymen, which is the ſureſt and beſt way to know our true intereſt; yet I flatter myſelf that my little Eſſays may be uſeful, at leaſt they may be no bad beginning: And you know it is eaſy to add to a work once begun. But if the work is known to be mine, the very name will condemn it, and render it uſeleſs to my country.

Whatever the faults may be, I have publicly applied to you to amend them, before the bearer's miſtake made me determine this private application to you: And I muſt ſay, that I ſhall reckon it no ſmall degree of honour, if you take that trouble upon you.

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In the mean-time I ſhall beg the favour of you, to keep a ſecret which no other perſon but my printer, my bookſeller, and the bearer knows. I am,

REVEREND SIR,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

JOHN BROWNE.

A LETTER ON Mr. M'CULLA's Project about HALFPENCE, and a new one propoſed.

WRITTEN IN MDCCXXIX.

SIR,

YOU deſire to know my opinion concerning Mr. M'Culla's project, of circulating notes ſtamped on copper, that ſhall paſs for the value of Halfpence and Pence. I have ſome knowledge of the man; and, about a month ago, he brought me his book, with a couple of his halfpenny notes: But I was then out of order, and he could not be admitted. Since that time I called at his houſe, where I diſcourſed the whole affair with him as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether a ſtranger to his character. He talked to me in the uſual ſtyle, with a great profeſſion of zeal for the public-good; which is the common cant of all projectors in their bills, from a firſt miniſter of ſtate down to a corn-

cutter.

cutter. But, I ſtopped him ſhort, as I would have done a better man; becauſe it is too groſs a practice to paſs at any time, and eſpecially in this age, where we all know one another ſo well. Yet, whoever propoſeth any ſcheme, which may prove to be a public benefit, I ſhall not quarrel, if it prove likewiſe very beneficial to himſelf. It is certain, that, next to the want of ſilver, our greateſt diſtreſs in point of coin is the want of ſmall change, which may be ſome poor relief for the defect of the former, ſince the crown will not pleaſe to take that work upon them here as they do in England. One thing in Mr. M'Culla's book is certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, braſs, iron, or any other material (except gold and ſilver) as well as upon paper. The queſtion is, whether I can ſue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand nor ſeal, nor witneſſes to prove it. To ſupply this, he hath propoſed, that the materials upon which his note is written ſhall be in ſome degree of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be enquired into. His ſcheme is this,

He gives you a piece of copper for a halfpenny or penny, ſtampt with a promiſſary note to pay you twenty pence for every pound of copper notes, whenever you ſhall return them. Eight and forty of theſe halfpenny pieces are to weigh a pound, and he ſells you that pound, coined and ſtamped, for two ſhillings; by which he clearly gains a little more than 16 *per cent.* that is to ſay, two pence in every ſhilling.

This will certainly ariſe to a great ſum, if he ſhould circulate as large a quantity of his notes as the kingdom, under the great dearth of ſilver, may very probably require: Enough indeed to make any Iriſh tradeſman's fortune; which, however, I ſhould not repine at in the leaſt, if we could be ſure of his fair dealing. It was obvious for me to raiſe the common objection, why Mr. M'Culla would not give ſecurity to pay the whole ſum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my Lord Dartmouth and Colonel Moor were by their patents obliged to do. To which he gave me ſome anſwers plauſible enough. Firſt, he conceived that his coins were much nearer to the intrinſic value than any of thoſe coined by patents, the bulk and goodneſs of the metal equalling the beſt

beſt Engliſh halfpence made by the Crown. That he apprehended the ill-will of envious and deſigning people, who, if they found him to have a great vent for his notes, ſince he wanted the protection of a patent, might make a run upon him which he could not be able to ſupport. And, laſtly, that his copper, as is already ſaid, being equal in value and bulk to the Engliſh halfpence, he did not apprehend they ſhould ever be returned, unleſs a combination, proceeding from ſpite and envy, might be formed againſt him.

But there are ſome points in his propoſal which I cannot well anſwer for, nor do I know whether he will be able to do it himſelf. The firſt is, whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the crown provided for the Engliſh halfpence and farthings? And, ſecondly, whether he will always continue to give us as good? And, thirdly, when he will think fit to ſtop his hand, and give us no more? For I ſhould be as ſorry to be at the mercy of Mr. M'Culla, as of Mr. Wood.

There is another difficulty of the laſt importance. It is known enough that the Crown is ſuppoſed to be neither gainer nor loſer by the coinage of any metal: For they

ſubtract, or ought to ſubtract no more from the intrinſic value than what will juſt pay the charges of the mint; and how much that will amount to is the queſtion. By what I could gather from Mr. M'Culla, good copper is worth fourteen pence *per* pound. By this computation, if he ſells his copper notes for two ſhillings the pound, and will pay twenty pence back, then the expence of coinage for one pound of copper muſt be ſix pence, which is 30 *per cent.* The world ſhould be particularly ſatisfied on this article, before he vends his notes: For the diſcount of 30 *per cent.* is prodigious, and vaſtly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For, if we add to that proportion the 16 *per cent.* which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a diſcount of about 46 *per cent.* Or, to reckon I think a fairer way; whoever buys a pound of Mr. M'Culla's coin, at two ſhillings *per* pound, carries home only the real value of fourteen pence, which is a pound of copper; and thus he is a loſer of 41 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per cent.* But, however, this high diſcount of 30 *per cent.* will be no objection againſt M'Culla's propoſal; becauſe, if the charge of coinage will honeſtly amount to ſo much, and

we ſuppoſe his copper notes may be returned upon him, he will be the greater ſufferer of the two; becauſe the buyer can loſe but four pence in a pound, and M'Culla muſt loſe ſix pence, which was the charge of the coinage.

Upon the whole, there are ſome points which muſt be ſettled to the general ſatisfaction, before we can ſafely take Mr. M'Culla's copper notes for value received; and how he will give that ſatisfaction, is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The firſt point is, That we ſhall be always ſure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineneſs to the beſt Engliſh halfpence.

The ſecond point is, to know what allowance he makes to himſelf, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper, or both, for the charge of coinage. As to the weight, the matter is eaſy by his own ſcheme: For, as I have ſaid before, he propoſes forty-eight to weigh a pound, which he gives you for two ſhillings, and receives it by the pound at twenty pence: So that, ſuppoſing pure copper to be fourteen pence a pound, he makes you pay 30 *per cent.* for the labour of coining, as I have already obſerved, beſides 16 *per cent.* when he ſells

it. But, if to this he adds any alloy, to debaſe the metal, although it be not above 10 *per cent.* then Mr. M'Culla's promiſſory notes will, to the intrinſic value of the metal, be above 47 *per cent.* diſcount.

For, ſubtracting 10 *per cent.* off 60 *l.* worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about five and a half *per cent.* in the whole 100 *l.* which, added to - - 41 13 4

5 10 0

will be *per cent.* 47 3 4

That we are under great diſtreſs for change, and that Mr. M'Culla's copper notes, on ſuppoſition of the metal being pure, is leſs liable to objection than the project of Wood, may be granted; but ſuch a diſcount, where we are not ſure even of our twenty pence a pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his ſcheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had ſome copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with thoſe of Mr. M'Culla, and obſerved as follows.

Firſt, I weighed Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny againſt an Engliſh one of King Charles II. which outweighed Mr. M'Culla's a fourth part, or 25 *per cent.*

I like-

I likewiſe weighed an Iriſh Patrick and David halfpenny, which outweighed Mr. M'Culla's 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* It had a very fair and deep impreſſion, and milled very ſkilfully round.

I found that even a common Harp halfpenny, well preſerved, weighed equal to Mr. M'Culla's. And even ſome of Wood's halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think Wood's copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid theſe looſe thoughts together with little order, to give you, and others who may read them, an opportunity of digeſting them better. I am no enemy to Mr. M'Culla's project, but I would have it put upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of King Charles II. which I weighed againſt Mr. M'Culla's, was of the faireſt kind I had ſeen. However, it is plain the crown could afford it without being a loſer. But it is probable, that the officers of the mint were then more honeſt than they have ſince thought fit to be; for I confeſs not to have met thoſe of any other year ſo weighty, or in appearance of ſo good metal, among all the copper coins of the three laſt reigns; yet theſe, however,

ever, did much outweigh thoſe of Mr. M'Culla; for I have tried the experiment on a hundred of them. I have indeed ſeen accidentally one or two very light, but it muſt certainly have been done by chance, or rather, I ſuppoſe them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that good copper was never known to be cheaper than it is at preſent. I am ignorant of the price, further than by his informing me that it is only fourteen pence a pound; by which I obſerve he charges the coinage at 30 *per cent.* And therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But, to ſay the truth, the dearneſs or cheapneſs of the metal do not properly enter into the queſtion. What we deſire is, that it ſhould be of the beſt kind, and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver ſhould be reduced from 16 to 8 *per cent.* and the charge of coinage, if poſſible, from 30 to 10, or 15 at moſt.

Mr. M'Culla muſt alſo give good ſecurity that he will coin only a determinate ſum, not exceeding twenty thouſand pounds; by which, although he ſhould deal with all uprightneſs imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of King Charles

Charles II.; he will, at 16 *per cent.* gain three thouſand two hundred pounds: A very good additional job to a private tradeſman's fortune.

I muſt adviſe him alſo to employ better workmen, and make his impreſſions deeper and plainer, by which a riſing rim may be left about the edge of his coin, to preſerve the letter from wearing out too ſoon. He hath no wardens nor maſters, or other officers of the mint to ſuck up his profit; and, therefore, can afford to coin cheaper than the crown, if he will but find good materials, proper implements, and ſkilful workmen.

Whether this project will ſucceed in Mr. M'Culla's hands, (which, if it be honeſtly executed, I ſhould be glad to ſee;) one thing I am confident of, that it might be eaſily brought to perfection by a ſociety of nine or ten honeſt gentlemen of fortune, who wiſh well to their country, and would be content to be neither gainers nor loſers, further than the bare intereſt of their money. And Mr. M'Culla, as being the firſt ſtarter of the ſcheme, might be conſidered and rewarded by ſuch a ſociety; whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I ſhould think it an honour and happineſs

to be one, even with borrowed money on the beſt ſecurity I could give. A firſt, I am confident, without any ſkill by general reaſon, that the charge of c ing copper would be very much leſs t 30 *per cent.* Secondly, I believe ten th ſand pounds, in halfpence and farthi would be ſufficient for the whole ki dom, even under our great and moſt a *ceſſary diſtreſs* for the want of ſilver; that, without ſuch a diſtreſs, half the would ſuffice.

For I compute and reaſon thus: The of Dublin, by a groſs computation, c tains ten thouſand families; and, I told by ſhopkeepers, that, if ſilver w as plenty as uſual, two ſhillings in co would be ſufficient, in the courſe of neſs, for each family; but, in conſid tion of the want of ſilver, I would al five ſhillings to each family, which w amount to 2,500 *l.*; and, to help thi would recommend a currency of all genuine undefaced harp-halfpence; wh are left of Lord Dartmouth's and Mc patents under King Charles II.; and ſmall Patrick and David for farthings. the reſt of the kingdom, I would al the 7,500 *l.* remaining; reckoning Du

to anſwer one fourth of the kingdom, as London is judged to anſwer (if I miſtake not) one third of England; I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of ſmall change by the number of ſouls in the kingdom, beſides being perplexed, is, I think, by no means juſt. They have been reckoned at a million and a half, whereof a million at leaſt are beggars, in all circumſtances except that of wandring about for alms, and that circumſtance may arrive ſoon enough, when it will be time to add another ten thouſand pounds in copper. But, without doubt, the families of Ireland, who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting ſmall change, cannot be above forty or fifty thouſand; which the ſum of ten thouſand pounds, with the addition of the faireſt old halfpence, would tolerably ſupply. For, if we give too great a looſe to any projector to pour in upon us what he pleaſes, the kingdom will be (how ſhall I expreſs it under our preſent circumſtances?) more than undone.

And hence appears, in a very ſtrong light, the villany of Wood, who propoſed the coinage of one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds in copper, for the uſe of

Ireland; whereby every family in the kingdom would be loaden with ten or a dozen ſhillings, although Wood might not tranſgreſs the bounds of his patent, and although no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number; the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill-informed are great men on the other ſide, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half a crown.

But, to return to the propoſal I have made: Suppoſe ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, ſhould raiſe 200 *l.* apiece; and, from the time the money is depoſited as they ſhall agree, ſhould begin to charge it with ſeven *per cent.* for their own uſe: That they ſhould as ſoon as poſſible provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper ſufficient for coining two thouſand pounds, ſubtracting a fifth part of the intereſt of ten thouſand pounds for the charges of the tools, and fitting up a place for a mint; the other four parts of the ſame intereſt to be ſubtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000 *l.* each, with a juſt allowance for other neceſſary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned, and the kingdom

dom informed of it, as well as of the price of copper. Let the coin be as well and deeply ſtamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can conſiſt to have it rightly coined, (wherein I am wholly ignorant) and the bulk as large as that of King Charles II. And let this club of ten gentlemen give their joint ſecurity to receive all the coins they iſſue out for 7 or ten years, and return gold and ſilver without any defalcation.

Let the ſame club or company, when they have iſſued out the firſt two thouſand pounds, go on the ſecond year, if they find a demand, and that their ſcheme hath anſwered to their own intention as well as to the ſatisfaction of the public. And, if they find 7 *per cent.* not ſufficient, let them ſubtract 8, beyond which I would not have them go. And, when they have, in two years, coined ten thouſand pounds, let them give public notice that they will proceed no farther, but ſhut up their mint, and diſmiſs their workmen: Unleſs the real, univerſal, unſolicited declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, ſhall ſignify a deſire that they ſhould go on for a certain ſum farther.

This company may enter into certain regulations among themſelves, one of which ſhould be, to keep nothing concealed, and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at, by the loſs of intrinſic value in the coinage of 10,000 *l.* in copper, under the management of ſuch a ſociety of gentlemen.

Firſt, It is plain, that, inſtead of ſomewhat more than 16 *per cent.* as demanded by Mr. M'Culla, this ſociety deſires but 8 *per cent.*

Secondly, Whereas Mr. M'Culla charges the expence of coinage at 30 *per cent.* I hope and believe this ſociety will be able to perform it at 10.

Thirdly, Whereas it doth not appear that Mr. M'Culla can give any ſecurity for the goodneſs of his copper, becauſe not one in ten thouſand have the ſkill to diſtinguiſh; the ſociety will be all engaged that theirs ſhall be of the beſt ſtandard.

Fourthly, That, whereas Mr. M'Culla's halfpence are one fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of King Charles II. theſe gentlemen will oblige

themſelves

themſelves to the public, to give the coin of the ſame weight and goodneſs with thoſe halfpence, unleſs they ſhall find they cannot afford it; and, in that caſe, they ſhall beforehand inform the public, ſhew their reaſons, and ſignify how large they can make them without being loſers; and ſo give over or purſue their ſcheme, as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do not doubt but they can afford them as large, and of as good metal, as the beſt Engliſh halfpence that have been coined in the three laſt reigns, which very much outweigh thoſe of Mr. M'Culla. And this advantage will ariſe in proportion, by leſſening the charge of coinage from 30 *per cent.* to 10 or 15, or 20 at moſt. But I confeſs myſelf in the dark on that article; only I think it impoſſible it ſhould amount to any proportion near 30 *per cent.* otherwiſe the coiners of thoſe counterfeit halfpence, called *Raps*, would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages by having the management in ſuch a ſociety would be, the paying 8 *per cent.* inſtead of 16, the being ſure of the goodneſs and juſt weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any further coinage than what

was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupply the wants and deſires of the kingdom: And all this under the ſecurity of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune, who would be ready to give the beſt ſecurity and ſatisfaction, that they had no deſign to turn the ſcheme into a job.

As to any miſtakes I have made in computation, they are of little moment; and I ſhall not deſcend ſo low as to juſtify them againſt any caviller.

The ſtrongeſt objection againſt what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear viſionary, is the difficulty to find half a ſcore gentlemen, who, out of a public ſpirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than one *per cent.* above the legal intereſt, to be overſeers of a mint for five years; and perhaps, without any juſtice, raiſe the clamour of the people againſt them. Beſides, it is moſt certain that many a ſquire is as fond of a job, and as dextrous to make the beſt of it, as Mr. M'Culla himſelf, or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten ſuch perſons in this town, if they had only ſome viſible mark to know them at ſight. Yet I juſt foreſee another inconveniency: That knaviſh men are fitter to deal with others

others of their own denomination; while thoſe who are honeſt and beſt intentioned, may be the inſtruments of as much miſchief to the public, for want of cunning, as the greateſt knaves; and more, becauſe of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the ſerpent with the innocency of the dove in this affair, is the moſt difficult point. It is not ſo hard to find an honeſt man, as to make this honeſt man active, and vigilant, and ſkilful; which I doubt will require a ſpur of profit greater than my ſcheme will afford him, unleſs he will be contented with the honour of ſerving his country, and the reward of a good conſcience.

After reviewing what I had written, I ſee very well that I have not given any allowance for the firſt charge of preparing all things neceſſary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200*l.* beſides 20*l.* *per annum* for five years rent of a houſe to work in. I can only ſay, that this making in all 300*l.* it will be an addition of no more than 3 *per cent.* out of 10,000*l.*

But the great advantages to the public, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen, ſuch as I have already

deſcribed, (if ſuch are to be found) are theſe:

Firſt, They propoſe no other gain to themſelves than 1 *per cent.* above the legal intereſt for the money they advance; which will hardly afford them coffee when they meet at their mint-houſe.

Secondly, They bind themſelves to make their coins of as good copper as the beſt Engliſh halfpence, and as well coined, and of equal weight: And do likewiſe bind themſelves to charge the public with not one farthing for the expence of coinage, more than it ſhall really ſtand them in.

Thirdly, They will, for a limited term of ſeven or ten years, as ſhall be thought proper upon mature conſideration, pay gold and ſilver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that ſhall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins ſhall have a deep impreſſion, leaving a riſing rim on both ſides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time; and the edges ſhall be milled.

I ſuppoſe they need not be very apprehenſive of counterfeits, which will be difficult to make ſo as not to be diſcovered: For it is plain that thoſe bad halfpence, called

Raps, are ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed, even from the moſt worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will now take them for a farthing, although under the great preſent want of change.

I ſhall here ſubjoin ſome computations relating to Mr. M'Culla's copper notes. They were ſent to me by a perſon well ſkilled in ſuch calculations, and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr. M'Culla charges good copper at fourteen pence *per* pound, but I know not whether he means Avoirdupois or Troy weight.

Avoirdupois is 16 oz. to a lb. 6960 grains.
A pound Troy weight - - 5760 grains.

Mr. M'Culla's copper is fourteen pence *per* pound avoirdupois.

Two of Mr. M'Culla's penny-notes, one with another, weigh - - - 524 grains.
By which computation, 2 *s.* of his notes, which he ſells for 1 lb. weight, will weigh - - 6288 grains.
But 1 lb. avoirdupois weighs, as above, - - - - - - - 6960 grains.

This difference makes 10 *per cent.* to Mr. M'Culla's profit, in point of weight.

The old Patrick and David halfpenny weighs - - - - 149 grains.
Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny weighs 131 grains.

The difference is 18

Which is equal to 10 ½ *per cent.*

The Engliſh halfpenny of King Charles II. weighs - - - 167 grains.
M'Culla's halfpenny weighs 131 grains.

The difference 36

Which difference allowed a fifth part is 20 *per cent.*

Another Computation.

Mr. M'Culla allows his pound of copper (coinage included) to be worth twenty pence, for which he demands two ſhillings.

His coinage he computes at ſix pence *per* pound weight; therefore, he laying out only twenty pence, and gaining four pence, he makes *per cent.* profit - - 20
The ſix pence *per* pound weight, allowed for coinage, makes *per cent.* 30
The want of weight in his halfpenny, compared as above, is *per cent.* - - - - - 10
By all which, (*viz.* coinage, profit, and want of weight) the public loſes *per cent.* - - - 60

If Mr. M'Culla's coins will not paſs, and he refuſes to receive them back, the owner cannot ſell them at above twelve-pence *per* pound weight; whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 *per cent.* he will loſe 60 *per cent.*

The ſcheme of the ſociety, raiſed as high as it can poſſibly be, will be only thus:

For intereſt of their money, *per cent.*	8
For coinage, inſtead of 10, ſuppoſe, at moſt, *per cent.* - - - - -	20
For 300 *l.* laid out for tools, a mint, and houſe-rent, charge 3 *per cent.* upon the coinage of 10,000 *l.* - - -	3
Charges in all upon intereſt, coinage, *&c. per cent.* - - - - -	31

Which, with all the advantages above-mentioned of the goodneſs of the metal, the largeneſs of the coin, the deepneſs and fairneſs of the impreſſion, the aſſurance of the ſociety confining itſelf to ſuch a ſum as they undertake, or as the kingdom ſhall approve; and, laſtly, their paying in gold or ſilver for all their coin returned upon their hands, without any defalcation, would be of mighty benefit to the king-

dom; and, with a little ſteadineſs and activity, could, I doubt not, be eaſily compaſſed.

I would not in this ſcheme recommend the method of promiſſory notes after Mr M'Culla's manner; but, as I have ſeen in old Iriſh coins, the words *Civitas Dublin* on one ſide, with the year of our Lord, and the Iriſh Harp, on the reverſe.

DOING

DOING GOOD:

A

SERMON,

On the Occaſion of WOOD's PROJECT.

Written in the Year MDCCXXIV.

GALATIANS vi. 10.

As we have therefore opportunity, let us do Good unto all men.

NATURE directs every one of us, and God permits us, to conſult our own private Good before the private Good of any other perſon whatſoever. We are, indeed, commanded to love our neighbour as ourſelves, but not as well as ourſelves. The love we have for ourſelves is to be the pattern of that love we ought to have towards our neighbour: But, as the copy doth not equal the original, ſo my neighbour cannot think it hard, if I prefer myſelf, who am the original, before him, who is only the copy. Thus, if any matter equally concern the life, the reputation, the profit of my neighbour, and my own; the

law

law of nature, which is the law of God, obligeth me to take care of myſelf firſt, and afterwards of him. And this I need not be at much pains in perſuading you to, for the want of ſelf-love, with regard to things of this world, is not among the faults of mankind. But then, on the other ſide, if, by a ſmall hurt and loſs to myſelf, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that caſe his intereſt is to be preferred. For example, if I can be ſure of ſaving his life, without great danger to my own; if I can preſerve him from being undone, without ruining myſelf, or recovering his reputation without blaſting mine; all this I am obliged to do: And, if I ſincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myſelf.

But, beſide this love we owe to every man in his particular capacity under the title of our neighbour, there is yet a duty of a more large extenſive nature incumbent on us; which is, our love to our neighbour in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body the commonwealth, under the ſame government with ourſelves; and this is uſually called love of the public, and is a duty to which we

are

e more ſtrictly obliged than even that of
ving ourſelves; becauſe therein ourſelves
e alſo contained, as well as all our neigh-
ours, in one great body. This love of the
ublic, or of the common wealth, or love
our country, was in antient times pro-
:rly known by the name of *Virtue*, be-
uſe it was the greateſt of all virtues, and
as ſuppoſed to contain all virtues in it:
id many great examples of this virtue
e left us on record, ſcarcely to be be-
:ved, or even conceived, in ſuch a baſe,
rrupted, wicked age as this we live in.
. thoſe times it was common for men to
crifice their lives for the good of their
untry, although they had neither hope
belief of future rewards; whereas, in
r days, very few make the leaſt ſcruple
ſacrificing a whole nation, as well as
eir own ſouls, for a little preſent gain;
ich often hath been known to end in
eir own ruin in this world, as it certainly
aſt in that to come.

Have we not ſeen men, for the ſake of
ne petty employment, give up the very
tural rights and liberties of their coun-
, and of mankind, in the ruin of which
emſelves muſt at laſt be involved? Are
t theſe corruptions gotten among the
meaneſt

meaneſt of our people, who, for a piec
of money, will give their votes at a va
ture, for the diſpoſal of their own liv
and fortunes, without conſidering whet
it be to thoſe who are moſt likely to betra
or defend them?

But, if I were to produce only one in-
ſtance of a hundred wherein we fail in
this duty of loving our country, it would
be an endleſs labour; and therefore I ſhall
not attempt it.

But here I would not be miſunderſtood
But the love of our country I do not mean
loyalty to our King, for that is a duty of an
other nature; and a man may be very loyal
in the common ſenſe of the word, with
out one grain of public-good at his heart
Witneſs this very kingdom we live in.
verily believe, that, ſince the beginnin
of the world, no nation upon earth eve
ſhewed (all circumſtances conſidered) ſuc
high conſtant marks of loyalty in all thei
actions and behaviour, as we have done
And, at the ſame time, no people ever ap
peared more utterly void of what is calle
a Public Spirit. When I ſay the people,
mean the bulk or maſs of the people, fo
I have nothing to do with thoſe in powe

Therefo

Therefore I ſhall think my time not ill ſpent, if I can perſuade moſt or all of you who hear me, to ſhew the love you have for your country, by endeavouring, in your ſeveral ſtations, to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly perſuaded, that all our misfortunes ariſe from no other original cauſe than that general diſregard among us to the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to ſhew you three things.

Firſt, That there are few people ſo weak or mean, who have it not ſometimes in their power to be uſeful to the public.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meaneſt among mankind to do miſchief to the public.

And, laſtly, That all wilful injuries done to the public are very great and aggravated ſins in the ſight of God.

Firſt, There are few people ſo weak or mean, who have it not ſometimes in their power to be uſeful to the public.

Solomon tells us of a poor wiſe man who ſaved a city by his counſel. It hath often happened that a private ſoldier, by ſome unexpected brave attempt, hath been inſtrumental in obtaining a great victory. How many obſcure men have been authors

of

of very uſeful inventions, whereof the world now reaps the benefit? The very example of honeſty and induſtry in a poor tradeſman will ſometimes ſpread through a neighbourhood, when others ſee how ſucceſsful he is; and thus ſo many uſeful members are gained, for which the whole body of the public is the better. Whoever is bleſſed with a true public ſpirit, God will certainly put it into his way to make uſe of that bleſſing, for the ends it was given him, by ſome means or other: And therefore it hath been obſerved in moſt ages, that the greateſt actions, for the benefit of the commonwealth, have been performed by the wiſdom or courage, the contrivance or induſtry, of particular men, and not of numbers; and that the ſafety of a kingdom hath often been owing to thoſe hands from whence it was leaſt expected.

But, ſecondly, it is often in the power of the meaneſt among mankind to do miſchief to the public: And hence ariſe moſt of thoſe miſeries with which the ſtates and kingdoms of the earth are infeſted. How many great princes have been murdered by the meaneſt ruffians? The weakeſt hand can open a flood-gate to drown a country,

country, which a thouſand of the ſtrongeſt cannot ſtop. Thoſe who have thrown off all regard for public good, will often have it in their way to do public evil, and will not fail to exerciſe that power whenever they can. The greateſt blow given of late to this kingdom, was by the diſhoneſty of a few manufacturers; who, by impoſing bad ware at foreign markets, in almoſt the only traffic permitted to us, did half ruin that trade; by which this poor unhappy kingdom now ſuffers in the midſt of ſufferings. I ſpeak not here of perſons in high ſtations, who ought to be free from all reflection, and are ſuppoſed always to intend the welfare of the community: But we now find by experience, that the meaneſt inſtrument may, by the concurrence of accidents, have it in his power to bring a whole kingdom to the very brink of deſtruction, and is at this preſent, endeavouring to finiſh his work; and hath agents among ourſelves, who are contented to ſee their own country undone, to be ſmall ſharers in that iniquitous gain, which at laſt muſt end in their own ruin as well as ours. I confeſs, it was chiefly the conſideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to diſcourſe to you on

this ſubject; to exhort you to a love of your country, and a public ſpirit, when all you have is at ſtake; to prefer the intereſt of your prince and your fellow ſubjects before that of one deſtructive impoſtor, and a few of his adherents.

Perhaps it may be thought by ſome, that this way of diſcourſing is not ſo proper from the pulpit. But ſurely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poor-houſe, to deprive us of all means to exerciſe hoſpitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make the country a deſert for wild beaſts and robbers, to deſtroy all arts and ſciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obſcure ill-deſigning projector, and his followers; it is time for the paſtor to cry out that the wolf is getting into his flock, to warn them to ſtand together, and all to conſult the common ſafety. And God be praiſed for his infinite goodneſs in raiſing ſuch a ſpirit of union among us, at leaſt in this point, in the midſt of all our former diviſions; which union, if it continue, will, in all probability, defeat the pernicious

cious deſign of this peſtilent enemy to the nation.

But, from hence, it clearly follows how neceſſary the love of our country, or a public ſpirit, is in every particular man, ſince the wicked have ſo many opportunities of doing public miſchief. Every man is upon his own guard for his private advantage; but, where the public is concerned, he is apt to be negligent, conſidering himſelf only as one among two or three millions, among whom the loſs is equally ſhared, and thus, he thinks, he can be no great ſufferer. Meanwhile the trader, the farmer, and the ſhop-keeper, complain of the hardneſs and deadneſs of the times, and wonder whence it comes; while it is, in a great meaſure, owing to their own folly, for want of that love of their country, and public ſpirit and firm union among themſelves, which are ſo neceſſary to the proſperity of every nation.

Another method by which the meaneſt wicked man, may have it in his power to injure the public, is falſe accuſation, whereof this kingdom hath afforded too many examples: Neither is it long ſince no man, whoſe opinions were thought to differ from thoſe in faſhion, could ſafely con-

verſe beyond his neareſt friends, for fear of being ſworn againſt, as a traitor, by thoſe who made a traffic of perjury and ſubornation; by which the very peace of the nation was diſturbed, and men fled from each other as they would from a lion or a bear got looſe. And, it is very remarkable, that the pernicious project now in hand to reduce us to beggary, was forwarded by one of theſe falſe accuſers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and ſubornation, to take away the lives of ſeveral innocent perſons here among us; and, indeed, there could not be a more proper inſtrument for ſuch a work.

Another method by which the meaneſt people may do injury to the public, is the ſpreading of lies and falſe rumours, thus raiſing a diſtruſt among the people of a nation, cauſing them to miſtake their true intereſt, and their enemies for their friends: And this hath been likewiſe too ſucceſsful a practice among us, where we have known the whole kingdom miſled by the groſſeſt lies, raiſed upon occaſion to ſerve ſome particular turn. As it hath alſo happened in the caſe I lately mentioned, where one obſcure man, by repreſent-

ing our wants where they were leaſt, and concealing them where they were greateſt, had almoſt ſucceeded in a project of utterly ruining this whole kingdom; and may ſtill ſucceed, if God doth not continue that public ſpirit, which he hath almoſt miraculouſly kindled in us upon this occaſion.

Thus we ſee the public is many times, as it were, at the mercy of the meaneſt inſtrument, who can be wicked enough to watch opportunities of doing it miſchief, upon the principles of avarice or malice; which, I am afraid, are deeply rooted in too many breaſts, and againſt which there can be no defence, but a firm reſolution in all honeſt men, to be cloſely united and active in ſhewing their love to their country, by preferring the public intereſt to their preſent private advantage. If a paſſenger, in a great ſtorm at ſea, ſhould hide his goods that they might not be thrown over board to lighten the ſhip, what would be the conſequence? The ſhip is caſt away, and he loſes his life and goods together.

We have heard of men, who, through greedineſs of gain, have brought infected goods into a nation, which bred a plague, whereof the owners and their families

periſhed firſt. Let thoſe among us conſider this and tremble, whoſe houſes are privately ſtored with thoſe materials of beggary and deſolation, lately brought over to be ſcattered like a peſtilence among their countrymen, which may probably firſt ſeize upon themſelves and their families, until their houſes ſhall be made a dunghill.

I ſhall mention one practice more, by which the meaneſt inſtruments often ſucceed in doing public miſchief; and this is by deceiving us with plauſible arguments, to make us believe that the moſt ruinous project they can offer is intended for our good, as it happened in the caſe ſo often mentioned. For the poor ignorant people, allured by the appearing convenience in their ſmall dealings, did not diſcover the ſerpent in the braſs, but were ready, like the Iſraelites, to offer incenſe to it; neither could the wiſdom of the nation convince them, until ſome, of good intentions, made the cheat ſo plain to their ſight, that thoſe who run may read. And thus the deſign was to treat us, in every point, as the Philiſtines treated Samſon, (I mean when he was betrayed by Dalilah) firſt to put out

our

our eyes, and then bind us with fetters of braſs.

I proceed to the laſt thing I propoſed, which was to ſhew you that all wilful injuries done to the public, are very great and aggravated ſins in the ſight of God.

Firſt, It is apparent from Scripture, and moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the ſafety and welfare of nations are under the moſt peculiar care of God's providence. Thus he promiſed Abraham to ſave Sodom, if only ten righteous men could be found in it. Thus the reaſon which God gave to Jonas for not deſtroying Nineveh was, becauſe there were ſix ſcore thouſand men in that city.

All government is from God, who is the God of order, and therefore whoever attempts to breed confuſion or diſturbance among a people, doth his utmoſt to take the government of the world out of God's hands, and to put it into the hands of the Devil, who is the author of confuſion. By which it is plain, that no crime, how heinous ſoever, committed againſt particular perſons, can equal the guilt of him who does injury to the public.

Secondly, All offenders againſt their country lie under this grievous difficulty,

that it is next to impoſſible to obtain a pardon, or make reſtitution. The bulk of mankind are very quick at reſenting injuries, and very ſlow in forgiving them: And how ſhall one man be able to obtain the pardon of millions, or repair the injuries he hath done to millions? How ſhall thoſe, who, by a moſt deſtructive fraud, got the whole wealth of our neighbouring kingdom into their hands, be ever able to make a recompence? How will the authors and promoters of that villainous project, for the ruin of this poor country, be able to account with us for the injuries they have already done, although they ſhould no farther ſucceed? The deplorable caſe of ſuch wretches, muſt entirely be left to the unfathomable mercies of God: For thoſe who know the leaſt in religion are not ignorant that, without our utmoſt endeavours to make reſtitution to the perſon injured, and to obtain his pardon, added to a ſincere repentance, there is no hope of ſalvation given in the Goſpel.

Laſtly, All offences againſt our own country have this aggravation, that they are ungrateful and unnatural. It is to our country we owe thoſe laws which protect us in our lives, our liberties, our properties,

ties, and our religion. Our country produced us into the world, and continues to nouriſh us ſo, that it is uſually called our mother; and there have been examples of great magiſtrates, who have put their own children to death for endeavouring to betray their country, as if they had attempted the life of their natural parent.

Thus I have briefly ſhewn you how terrible a ſin it is to be an enemy to our country, in order to incite you to the contrary virtue, which at this juncture is ſo highly neceſſary, when every man's endeavour will be of uſe. We have hitherto been juſt able to ſupport ourſelves under many hardſhips; but now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and nothing but a firm union among us can prevent our utter undoing. This we are obliged to, in duty to our gracious King, as well as to ourſelves. Let us therefore preſerve that public ſpirit, which God hath raiſed in us for our own temporal intereſt. For, if this wicked project ſhould ſucceed, which it cannot do but by our own folly; if we ſell ourſelves for nought; the merchant, the ſhop-keeper, the artificer, muſt fly to the deſert with their miſerable families, there to ſtarve or live upon rapine, or

at leaſt exchange their country for one more hoſpitable than that where they were born.

Thus much I thought it my duty to ſay to you, who are under my care, to warn you againſt thoſe temporal evils, which may draw the worſt of ſpiritual evils after them; ſuch as heart-burnings, murmurings, diſcontents, and all manner of wickedneſs which a deſperate condition of life may tempt men to.

I am ſenſible that what I have now ſaid will not go very far, being confined to this aſſembly; but I hope it may ſtir up others of my brethren to exhort their ſeveral congregations, after a more effectual manner, to ſhew their love for their country on this important occaſion. And this, I am ſure, cannot be called meddling in affairs of ſtate.

I pray God protect his moſt gracious Majeſty, and this kingdom, long under his government, and defend us from all ruinous projectors, deceivers, ſuborners, perjurers, falſe accuſers, and oppreſſors; from the virulence of party and faction; and unite us in loyalty to our King, love to our country, and charity to each other. And this we beg for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake: To whom, *&c.*

A PRO-

A PROPOSAL THAT

All the LADIES and WOMEN of IRELAND ſhould appear conſtantly in Iriſh Manufactures.

Written in the Year D MCC XXIX.

THERE was a treatiſe written about nine years ago to perſuade the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures *. This treatiſe was allowed to have not one ſyllable in it of party or diſaffection, but was wholly founded upon the growing poverty of the nation, occaſioned by the utter want of trade in every branch, except that ruinous importation of all foreign extravagancies from other countries. This treatiſe was preſented, by the Grand-jury of the city and county of Dublin, as a ſcandalous, ſeditious, and factious pamphlet. I forget who was the foreman of the city Grand-jury, but the foreman for the county, was one Doctor Seal, regiſter to the Archbiſhop of Dublin, wherein he dif-

* See Vol. X. p. 1.

fered much from the ſentiments of his Lord. The Printer was tried before the late Mr. Whitchet, that famous Lord Chief-Juſtice; who, on the bench, laying his hand on his heart, declared upon his ſalvation that the Author was a Jacobite, and had a deſign to beget a quarrel between the two nations. In the midſt of this proſecution, about 1500 weavers were forced to beg their bread, and had a general contribution made for their relief, which juſt ſerved to make them drunk for a week; and then they were forced to turn rogues, or ſtrolling beggars, or to leave the kingdom.

The Duke of Grafton, who was then Lieutenant, being perfectly aſhamed of ſo infamous and unpopular a proceeding, obtained from England a *noli proſequi* for the Printer. Yet the Grand-jury had ſolemn thanks given them from the Secretary of State.

I mention this paſſage (perhaps too much forgotten) to ſhew how dangerous it hath been for the beſt meaning perſon to write one ſyllable in the defence of his country, or diſcover the miſerable condition it is in.

And, to prove this truth, I will produce one inſtance more; wholly omitting the famous

famous caſe of the Drapier, and the proclamation againſt him, as well as the perverſeneſs of another jury againſt the ſame Mr. Whitchet, who was violently bent to act the ſecond part in another ſcene.

About two years ago there was a ſmall paper printed, which was called *A ſhort View of the State of Ireland* *, relating the ſeveral cauſes whereby any country may grow rich, and applying them to Ireland. Whitchet was dead, and conſequently the printer was not troubled. Miſt, the famous journaliſt, happened to reprint this paper in London, for which his preſs-folks were proſecuted for almoſt a twelvemonth; and, for ought I know, are not yet diſcharged.

This is our caſe; inſomuch, that, although I am often without money in my pocket, I dare not own it in ſome company, for fear of being thought diſaffected.

But ſince I am determined to take care, that the author of this paper ſhall not be diſcovered, (following herein the moſt prudent practice of the Drapier) I will venture to affirm, that the three ſeaſons wherein our corn hath miſcarried, did no more contribute to our preſent miſery, than one ſpoonful of water thrown upon a rat al-

* See Vol. X. p. 300.

ready

ready drowned would contribute to his death; and that the preſent plentiful harveſt, although it ſhould be followed by a dozen enſuing, would no more reſtore us, than it would the rat aforeſaid to put him near the fire, which might indeed warm his fur-coat, but never bring him back to life.

The ſhort of the matter is this, The diſtreſſes of the kingdom are operating more and more every day, by very large degrees, and ſo have been doing for above a dozen years paſt.

If you demand from whence theſe diſtreſſes have ariſen, I deſire to aſk the following queſtion.

If two thirds of any kingdom's revenue be exported to another country, without one farthing of value in return, and if the ſaid kingdom be forbidden the moſt profitable branches of trade wherein to employ the other third, and only allowed to traffic in importing thoſe commodities which are moſt ruinous to itſelf, how ſhall that kingdom ſtand?

If this queſtion were formed into the firſt propoſition of an hypothetical ſyllogiſm, I defy the man born in Ireland, who is now in the faireſt way of getting a collectorſhip,

collectorſhip, or a cornet's poſt, to give a good reaſon for denying it.

Let me put another caſe. Suppoſe a gentleman's eſtate of 200 *l.* a year ſhould ſink to one hundred, by ſome accident, whether by an earthquake or inundation it matters not, and ſuppoſe the ſaid gentleman utterly hopeleſs and unqualified ever to retrieve the loſs; how is he otherwiſe to proceed in his future oeconomy, than by reducing it on every article to one half leſs, unleſs he will be content to fly his country, or rot in jail? This is a repreſentation of Ireland's condition, only with one fault, that it is a little too favourable. Neither am I able to propoſe a full remedy for this, that ſhall ever be granted, but only a ſmall prolongation of life, until God ſhall miraculouſly diſpoſe the hearts of our neighbours, our kinſmen, our fellow proteſtants, fellow ſubjects, and fellow rational creatures, to permit us to ſtarve without running further in debt. I am informed that our national debt (and God knows how we wretches came by that faſhionable thing a national debt) is about 250,000 *l.*; which is, at leaſt, one third of the whole kingdom's rents, after our abſentees and other foreign drains are paid,

and

and about 50,000 *l.* more than all the caſh.

It ſeems there are ſeveral ſchemes for raiſing a fund to pay the intereſt of this formidable ſum, (not the principal, for this is allowed impoſſible.) The neceſſity of raiſing ſuch a fund is ſtrongly and regularly pleaded from the late deficiencies in the duties and cuſtoms. And is it the fault of Ireland that theſe funds are deficient? If they depend on trade, can it poſſibly be otherwiſe, while we have neither liberty to trade, nor money to trade with; neither hands to work, nor buſineſs to employ them, if we had? Our diſeaſes are viſible enough, both in their cauſes and effects; and the cures are well known, but impoſſible to be applied.

If my ſteward comes and tells me, that my rents are ſunk ſo low that they are very little more than ſufficient to pay my ſervants their wages, have I any other courſe left, than to caſhier four in ſix of my raſcally footmen, and a number of other varlets in my family, of whoſe inſolence the whole neighbourhood complains. And I ſhould think it extremely ſevere in any law, to force me to maintain a houſehold of fifty ſervants, and fix their wages, be-

fore

fore I had offered my rent-roll upon oath to the legiſlators.

To return from digreſſing: I am told one ſcheme for raiſing a fund to pay the intereſt of our national debt, is by a further duty of forty ſhillings a ton upon wine. Some gentlemen would carry this matter much further by raiſing it to twelve pounds; which, in a manner, would amount to a prohibition. Thus weakly arguing from the practice of England.

I have often taken notice, both in print and in diſcourſe, that there is no topic ſo fallacious, either in talk or in writing, as to argue how we ought to act in Ireland from the example of England, Holland, France, or any other country, whoſe inhabitants are allowed the common rights and liberties of humankind. I could undertake to name ſix or ſeven of the moſt uncontrolled maxims in government, which are utterly falſe in this kingdom.

As to the additional duty on wine, I think any perſon may deliver his opinion upon it, until it ſhall have paſſed into a law; and, till then, I declare mine to be poſitively againſt it.

Firſt, Becauſe there is no nation yet known, in either hemiſphere, where the

people of all conditions are more in want of ſome cordial, to keep up their ſpirits, than in this of ours. I am not in jeſt; and, if the fact will not be allowed me, I ſhall not argue it.

Secondly, It is too well and generally known, that this tax of forty ſhillings additional on every ton of wine (which will be double at leaſt to the home-conſumer) will increaſe equally every new ſeſſion of parliament, until perhaps it comes to twelve pounds.

Thirdly, Becauſe, as the merchants inform me, and as I have known many the like inſtances in England, this additional tax will more probably leſſen this branch of the revenue, than encreaſe it. And therefore Sir John Stanley, a commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, in England, uſed to ſay, That the Houſe of Commons were generally miſtaken in matters of trade, by an erroneous opinion that two and two make four. Thus, if you ſhould lay an additional duty of one penny a pound on raiſins, or ſugar, the revenue, inſtead of riſing, would certainly ſink; and the conſequence would only be, to leſſen the number of plum-puddings, and ruin the confectioner.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, I am likewiſe aſſured by merchants, that, upon this additional forty ſhillings, the French will at leaſt equally raiſe their duties upon all commodities we export thither.

Fifthly, If an original extract of the exports and imports be true, we have been gainers upon the balance by our trade with France for ſeveral years paſt; and, although our gain amounts to no great ſum, we ought to be ſatisfied, ſince we are no loſers, with the only conſolation we are capable of receiving.

Laſtly, The worſt conſequence is behind. If we raiſe the duty on wine to a conſiderable height, we loſe the only hold we have of keeping among us the few gentlemen of any tolerable eſtates. I am confident, there is hardly a gentleman of eight hundred pounds a year and upwards, in this kingdom, who would balance half an hour to conſider whether he ſhould live here or in England, if a family could be as cheaply maintained in the one as the other. As to eatables, they are as cheap in many fine counties of England, as in ſome very indifferent ones here; or, if there be any difference, that vein of thrift, and prudence in oeconomy, which paſſes

there without reproach, (and chiefly in London itſelf) would amply make up the difference. But the article of French wine is hardly tolerable, in any degree of plenty, to a middling fortune: And this is it which, by growing habitual, wholly turns the ſcale with thoſe few landed men diſengaged from employments, who content themſelves to live hoſpitably with plenty of good wine in their own country, rather than in penury and obſcurity in another, with bad, or with none at all.

Having therefore, as far as in me lies, aboliſhed this additional duty upon wine; for I am not under the leaſt concern about paying the intereſt of the national debt, but leave it, as in loyalty bound, wholly to the wiſdom of the Honourable Houſe of Commons: I come now to conſider by what methods we may be able to put off, and delay our utter undoing as long as it is poſſible.

I never have diſcourſed any reaſonable man upon this ſubject, who did not allow that there was no remedy left us, but to leſſen the importation of all unneceſſary commodities, as much as it was poſſible; and likewiſe, either to perſuade our abſentees to ſpend their money at home, which

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is impoſſible, or tax them at five ſhillings in the pound during their abſence, with ſuch allowances, upon neceſſary occaſions, as it ſhall be thought convenient; or, by permitting us a free trade, which is denied to no other nation upon earth. The three laſt methods are treated by Mr. Prior, in his moſt uſeful treatiſe, added to his liſt of abſentees.

It is to gratify the vanity and pride, and luxury of the women, and of the young fops who admire them, that we owe this inſupportable grievance of bringing in the inſtruments of our ruin. There is annually brought over to this kingdom near ninety thouſand pounds worth of ſilk, whereof the greater part is manufactured: Thirty thouſand pounds more is expended in muſlin, holland, cambric, and callico. What the price of lace amounts to, is not eaſy to be collected from the cuſtom-houſe book, being a kind of goods that takes up little room, and is eaſily run; but, conſidering the prodigious price of a woman's head-dreſs, at ten, twelve, twenty pounds a yard, muſt be very great. The tea, rated at ſeven ſhillings *per* pound, comes to near twelve thouſand pounds; but, conſidering it as the common luxury

of every chambermaid, ſempſtreſs, and tradeſman's wife, both in town and country, however they come by it, muſt needs coſt the kingdom double that ſum. Coffee is ſomewhat above 7,000 *l.* I have ſeen no account of chocolate, and ſome other Indian or American goods. The drapery imported is about 24,000 *l.* The whole amounts (with one or two other particulars) to 150,000 *l.* The laviſhing of all which money is juſt as prudent and neceſſary, as to ſee a man in an embroidered coat begging out of Newgate in an old ſhoe.

I allow that the thrown and raw ſilk is leſs pernicious; becauſe we have ſome ſhare in the manufacture; but we are not now in circumſtances to trifle. It coſts us above 40,000 *l.* a year: And if the ladies, till better times, will not be content to go in their own country ſhifts, I wiſh they may go in rags. Let them vie with each other in the fineneſs of their native linen: Their beauty and gentleneſs will as well appear, as if they were covered over with diamonds and brocade.

I believe no man is ſo weak, as to hope or expect that ſuch a reformation can be brought about by a law. But a thorough, hearty,

hearty, unanimous vote, in both Houſes of Parliament, might perhaps anſwer as well: Every ſenator, noble or plebeian, giving his honour, that neither himſelf, nor any of his family, would, in their dreſs or furniture of their houſes, make uſe of any thing except what was of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom; and that they would uſe the utmoſt of their power, influence and credit, to prevail on their tenants, dependants, and friends, to follow their example.

A LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, concerning the WEAVERS.

MY LORD,

THE Corporation of Weavers in the woollen manufacture, who have ſo often attended your Grace, and called upon me with their ſchemes and propoſals, were with me on Thurſday laſt; when he who ſpoke for the reſt, and in the name of his abſent brethren, ſaid, It was the opinion of the whole body, that if ſomewhat were written at this time by an able hand, to perſuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own woollen manufactures, it might be of good uſe to the nation in general, and preſerve many hundreds of their trade from ſtarving. To which I anſwered, That it was hard for any man of common ſpirit to turn his thoughts to ſuch ſpeculations, without diſcovering a reſentment which people are too delicate to bear.

For

For I will not deny to your Grace, that I cannot reflect on the ſingular condition of this country, different from all others upon the face of the earth, without ſome emotion, and without often examining, as I paſs the ſtreets, whether thoſe animals which come in my way, with two legs and human faces, clad and erect, be of the ſame ſpecies with what I have ſeen very like them in England, as to the outward ſhape, but differing in their notions, natures, and intellectuals, more than any two kinds of brutes in a foreſt; which any man of common prudence would immediately diſcover, by perſuading them to define what they mean by law, liberty, property, courage, reaſon, loyalty, or religion.

One thing, my Lord, I am very confident of; that if God Almighty, for our ſins, would moſt juſtly ſend us a peſtilence, whoever ſhould dare to diſcover his grief in public for ſuch a viſitation, would certainly be cenſured for diſaffection to the government. For I ſolemnly profeſs, that I do not know one calamity we have undergone theſe many years, whereof any man, whoſe opinions were not in faſhion, dared to lament, without being openly charged with that imputation. And this

is the harder, becauſe although a mother, when ſhe hath corrected her child, may ſometimes force it to kiſs the rod, yet ſhe will never give that power to the foot-boy or the ſcullion.

My Lord, There are two things for the people of this kingdom to conſider: Firſt, Their preſent evil condition; and, ſecondly, What can be done in ſome degree to remedy it.

I ſhall not enter into a particular deſcription of our preſent miſery: It hath been already done in ſeveral papers, and very fully in one entitled *A ſhort View of the State of Ireland.* It will be enough to mention the entire want of trade, the navigation-act executed with the utmoſt rigor, the remiſſion of a million every year to England, the ruinous importation of foreign luxury and vanity, the oppreſſion of landlords, and diſcouragement of agriculture.

Now all thoſe evils are without the poſſibility of a cure, except that of importations; and to fence againſt ruinous folly will be always in our power, in ſpite of the diſcouragements, mortifications, contempt, hatred, and oppreſſion we labour under: But our trade will never mend, the

the navigation-act never be ſoftened, our abſentees never return, our endleſs foreign payments never be leſſened, our own landlords never be leſs exacting.

All other ſchemes for preſerving this kingdom from utter ruin are idle and viſionary, conſequently drawn from wrong reaſoning, and from general topics, which, for the ſame cauſes that they may be true in all nations, are certainly falſe in ours; as I have told the public often enough, but with as little effect as what I ſhall ſay at preſent is likely to produce.

I am weary of ſo many abortive projects, for the advancement of trade; of ſo many crude propoſals, in letters ſent me from unknown hands; of ſo many contradictory ſpeculations, about raiſing or ſinking the value of gold and ſilver: I am not in the leaſt ſorry to hear of the great numbers going to America, although very much for the cauſes that drive them from us, ſince the uncontrolled maxim, "That "people are the riches of a nation," is no maxim here under our circumſtances. We have neither manufactures to employ them about, nor food to ſupport them.

If a private gentleman's income be ſunk irretrievably for ever from a hundred

dred pounds to fifty, and that he hath no other method to ſupply the deficiency, I deſire to know, my Lord, whether ſuch a perſon hath any other courſe to take, than to ſink half his expences in every article of oeconomy, to ſave himſelf from ruin and a jail. Is not this more than doubly the caſe of Ireland, where the want of money, the irretrievable ruin of trade, with the other evils above-mentioned, and many more too well known and felt, and too numerous or invidious to relate, have been gradually ſinking us for above a dozen years paſt, to a degree that we are at leaſt by two thirds in a worſe condition than was ever known ſince the Revolution. Therefore, inſtead of dreams and projects for advancing of trade, we have nothing left but to find out ſome expedient whereby we may reduce our expences to our incomes.

Yet this procedure, allowed ſo neceſſary in all private families, and in its own nature ſo eaſy to be put in practice, may meet with ſtrong oppoſition by the cowardly ſlaviſh indulgence of the men to the intolerable pride, arrogance, vanity, and luxury of the women; who, ſtrictly adhering to the rules of modern education, ſeem to employ

employ their whole ſtock of invention in contriving new arts of profuſion faſter than the moſt parſimonious huſband can afford: And, to compaſs this work the more effectually, their univerſal maxim is to deſpiſe and deteſt every thing of the growth and manufacture of their own country, and moſt to value, whatever comes from the very remoteſt parts of the globe. And I am convinced, that, if the virtuoſi could once find out a world in the moon, with a paſſage to it, our women would wear nothing but what came directly from thence.

The prime coſt of wine yearly imported to Ireland is valued at 30,000 *l.*; and the tea (including coffee and chocolate) at five times that ſum. The lace, ſilks, callicoes, and all other unneceſſary ornaments for women, including Engliſh cloths and ſtuffs, added to the former articles, make up (to compute groſsly) about 400,000 *l.*

Now, if we ſhould allow the 30,000 *l.* wherein the women have their ſhare, and which is all we have to comfort us, and deduct 70,000 *l.* more for over-reaching, there would ſtill remain 300,000 *l.* annually ſpent, for unwholeſome drugs and unneceſſary finery. Which prodigious ſum would

would be wholly ſaved, and many thouſands of our miſerable ſhop-keepers and manufacturers comfortably ſupported.

Let ſpeculative people buſy their brains as much as they pleaſe, there is no other way to prevent this kingdom from ſinking for ever, than by utterly renouncing all foreign dreſs and luxury.

It is abſolutely ſo in fact, that every huſband, of any fortune in the kingdom, is nouriſhing a poiſonous devouring ſerpent in his boſom, with all the miſchief, but with none of its wiſdom.

If all the women were clad with the growth of their own country, they might ſtill vie with each other in the courſe of foppery, and ſtill have room left to vie with each other, and equally ſhew their wit and judgment in deciding upon the variety of Iriſh ſtuffs. And, if they could be contented with their native wholeſome ſlops for breakfaſt, we ſhould hear no more of their ſpleen, hyſterics, cholics, palpitations, and aſthmas. They might ſtill be allowed to ruin each other, and their huſbands at play, becauſe the money loſt would only circulate among ourſelves.

My Lord, I freely own it a wild imagination, that any words will cure the fot-

ſhneſs of men, or the vanity of women; but the kingdom is in a fair way of producing the moſt effectual remedy, when there will not be money left for the common courſe of buying and ſelling the very neceſſaries of life in our markets, unleſs we abſolutely change the whole method of our proceedings.

The corporation of weavers in woollen and ſilk, who have ſo frequently offered propoſals both to your Grace and to me, are the hotteſt and coldeſt generation of men that I have known. About a month ago, they attended your Grace, when I had the honour to be with you, and deſigned me the ſame favour. They deſired you would recommend to your clergy to wear gowns of Iriſh ſtuffs, which might probably ſpread the example among all their brethren in the kingdom; and, perhaps, among the lawyers and gentlemen of the univerſity, and among the citizens of thoſe corporations who appear in gowns on ſolemn occaſions. I then mentioned a kind of ſtuff, not above eight pence a yard, which I heard had been contrived by ſome of the trade, and was very convenient. I deſired they would prepare ſome of that, or any ſort of black ſtuff, on a certain

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day, when your Grace would appoint as many clergymen as could readily be found to meet at your palace, and there give their opinions; and that, your Grace's viſitation approaching, you could then have the beſt opportunity of ſeeing what could be done in a matter of ſuch conſequence, as they ſeemed to think, to the woollen manufacture. But inſtead of attending, as was expected, they came to me a fortnight after with a new propoſal, that ſomething ſhould be written, by an acceptable and able hand, to promote in general the wearing of home manufactures, and their civilities would fix that work upon me. I aſked if they had prepared the ſtuffs, as they had promiſed, and your Grace expected; but they had not made the leaſt ſtep in the matter, nor, as it appears, thought of it more.

I did, ſome years ago, propoſe to the maſters and principal dealers in the home manufactures of ſilk and wool, that they ſhould meet together; and, after mature conſideration, publiſh advertiſements to the following purpoſe.

That, in order to encourage the wearing of Iriſh manufactures in ſilk and woollen, they gave notice to the nobility and gentry

of the kingdom, That they the underſigned, would enter into bonds for themſelves, and for each other, to ſell the ſeveral ſorts of ſtuffs, cloths, and ſilks, made to the beſt perfection they were able, for certain fixed prices; and in ſuch a manner, that, if a child were ſent to any of their ſhops, the buyer might be ſecure of the value and goodneſs, and meaſure of the ware: And, leſt this might be thought to look like a monopoly, any other member of the trade might be admitted, upon ſuch conditions as ſhould be agreed on. And, if any perſon whatſoever ſhould complain that he was ill-uſed in the value and goodneſs of what he bought, the matter ſhould be examined, the perſon injured be fully ſatisfied by the whole corporation, without delay, and the diſhoneſt ſeller be ſtruck out of the ſociety, unleſs it appeared evidently that the failure proceeded only from miſtake.

The mortal danger is, that if theſe dealers could prevail, by the goodneſs and cheapneſs of their cloths and ſtuffs, to give a turn to the principal people of Ireland in favour of their goods, they would relapſe into the knaviſh practice peculiar to this kingdom, which is apt to run through

all trades, even ſo low as a common ale-ſeller; who, as ſoon as he gets a vogue for his liquor, and outſells his neighbours, thinks his credit will put off the worſt he can buy, till his cuſtomers will come no more. Thus I have known at London, in a general mourning, the drapiers dye black, all their old damaged goods, and ſell them at double rates, then complain and petition the court, that they are ready to ſtarve by the continuance of the mourning.

Therefore, I ſay, thoſe principal weavers, who would enter into ſuch a compact as I have mentioned, muſt give ſufficient ſecurity againſt all ſuch practices: For, if once the women can perſuade their huſbands that foreign goods, beſides the finery, will be as cheap, and do more ſervice, our laſt ſtate will be worſe than the firſt.

I do not here pretend to digeſt perfectly the method by which theſe principal ſhop-keepers ſhall proceed in ſuch a propoſal; but my meaning is clear enough, and cannot reaſonably be objected againſt.

We have ſeen what a deſtructive loſs the kingdom received, by the deteſtable fraud of the merchants, or northern linen-weavers, or both; notwithſtanding all the care of the

governors at that board, when we had an offer of commerce with the Spaniards for our linen, to the value, as I am told, of 300,000 *l.* a year. But, while we deal like pedlars, we ſhall practiſe like pedlars, and ſacrifice all honeſty to the preſent urging advantage.

What I have ſaid may ſerve as an anſwer to the deſire made me by the corporation of weavers, that I would offer my notions to the public. As to any thing further, let them apply themſelves to the parliament in their next ſeſſion. Let them prevail on the Houſe of Commons to grant one very reaſonable requeſt; and I ſhall think there is ſtill ſome ſpirit left in the nation, when I read a vote to this purpoſe: Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this Houſe will, for the future, wear no cloths but ſuch as are made of Iriſh growth, or of Iriſh manufacture, nor will permit their wives or children to wear any other: And that they will, to the utmoſt, endeavour to prevail with their friends, relations, dependents, and tenants to follow their example. And if, at the ſame time, they could baniſh tea, and coffee, and china-ware out of their families, and force their wives to chat their ſcandal over an infuſion of ſage, or other

wholeſome domeſtic vegetables, we might poſſibly be able to ſubſiſt, and pay our abſentees, penſioners, generals, civil officers, appeals, colliers, temporary travellers, ſtudents, ſchoolboys, ſplenetic viſiters of Bath, Tunbridge, and Epſom, with all other ſmaller drains, by ſending our crude unwrought goods to England, and receiving from thence, and all other countries, nothing but what is fully manufactured, and keep a few potatoes and oatmeal for our own ſubſiſtence.

I have been, for a dozen years paſt, wiſely prognoſticating the preſent condition of this kingdom; which any human creature, of common ſenſe, could foretel, with as little ſagacity as myſelf. My meaning is, that a conſumptive body muſt needs die, which hath ſpent all its ſpirits, and received no nouriſhment. Yet I am often tempted to pity, when I hear the poor farmer and cottager lamenting the hardneſs of the times, and imputing them either to one or two ill ſeaſons, which better climates than ours are more expoſed to; or to ſcarcity of ſilver, which to a nation of liberty, would only be a ſlight and temporary inconvenience, to be removed at a month's warning.

ANSWER

A N S W E R

TO SEVERAL

LETTERS from unknown PERSONS.

Written in the Year MDCCXXIX.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM inclined to think that I received a letter from you two * laſt ſummer, directed to Dublin, while I was in the country, whither it was ſent me, and I ordered an anſwer to it to be printed; but, it ſeems, it had little effect, and I ſuppoſe this will have not much more. But the heart of this people is waxed groſs, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have cloſed. And, Gentlemen, I am to tell you another thing: That the world is too regardleſs of what we write for the public good: That, after we have delivered our thoughts, without any proſpect of advantage or of reputation, which latter is not to be had but by ſubſcribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a printer

* Trueman and Layfield.

to be at the charge of ſending it into the world, unleſs we will be at all, or half the expence: And, although we are willing enough to beſtow our labours, we think it unreaſonable to be out of pocket; becauſe it, probably, may not conſiſt with the ſituation of our affairs.

I do very much approve your good intentions, and, in a great meaſure, your manner of declaring them; and I do imagine you intended that the world ſhould not only know your ſentiments, but my anſwer, which I ſhall impartially give.

That great Prelate, in whoſe cover you directed your letter, ſent it to me this morning; and I begin my anſwer to-night, not knowing what interruption I may meet with.

I have ordered your letter to be printed, as it ought to be, along with my anſwer; becauſe, I conceive, it will be more acceptable and informing to the kingdom.

I ſhall therefore now go on to anſwer your letter in all manner of ſincerity.

Although your letter be directed to me, yet I take myſelf to be only an imaginary perſon: For although I conjecture I had formerly one from you, yet I never anſwer-

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ed it otherwiſe than in print; neither was I at a loſs to know the reaſons why ſo many people of this kingdom were tranſporting themſelves to America. And, if this encouragement were owing to a pamphlet written, giving an account of the country of Penſylvania, to tempt people to go thither; I do declare that thoſe who were tempted, by ſuch a narrative, to ſuch a journey, were fools, and the author a moſt impudent knave; at leaſt, if it be the ſame pamphlet I ſaw when it firſt came out, which is above twenty-five years ago, dedicated to William Pen, (whom, by a miſtake, you call Sir William Pen) and ſtyling him, by authority of the Scripture, Moſt Noble Governor. For I was very well acquainted with Pen, and did, ſome years after, talk with him upon that pamphlet, and the impudence of the author, who ſpoke ſo many things in praiſe of the ſoil and climate, which Pen himſelf did abſolutely contradict. For he did aſſure me, that this country wanted the ſhelter of mountains, which left it open to the northern winds from Hudſon's Bay and the Frozen Sea, which deſtroyed all plantations of trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables. But, indeed, New-

York, Virginia, and other parts leſs northward, or more defended by mountains, are deſcribed as excellent countries: But, upon what conditions of advantage foreigners go thither, I am yet to ſeek.

What evils our people avoid by running from hence, is eaſier to be determined. They conceive themſelves to live under the tyranny of moſt cruel exacting landlords, who have no view further than encreaſing their rent-rolls. Secondly, You complain of the want of trade, whereof you ſeem not to know the reaſon. Thirdly, You lament moſt juſtly the money ſpent by abſentees in England. Fourthly, You complain that your linen manufacture declines. Fifthly, That your tythe-collectors oppreſs you. Sixthly, That your children have no hopes of preferment in the church, the revenue, or the army; to which you might have added the law, and all civil employments whatſoever. Seventhly, You are undone for want of ſilver, and want all other money.

I could eaſily add ſome other motives, which, to men of ſpirit, who deſire and expect, and think they deſerve the common privileges of human nature, would be of more force than any you have yet named

named to drive them out of this kingdom. But, as theſe ſpeculations may probably not much affect the brains of your people, I ſhall chuſe to let them paſs unmentioned. Yet I cannot but obſerve, that my very good and virtuous friend, his Excellency Burnet, *(O fili, nec tali indigne parente!)* hath not hitherto been able to perſuade his vaſſals, by his oratory in the ſtyle of a command, to ſettle a revenue on his Vice-Royal Perſon. I have been likewiſe aſſured, that, in one of thoſe colonies on the continent, which nature hath ſo far favoured, as (by the induſtry of the inhabitants) to produce a great quantity of excellent rice; the ſtubbornneſs of the people, who having been told that the world was wide, took it into their heads that they might ſell their own rice at whatever foreign market they pleaſed, and ſeem, by their practice, very unwilling to quit that opinion.

But, to return to my ſubject: I muſt confeſs to you both, that, if one reaſon of your people's deſerting us, be the deſpair of things growing better in their own country, I have not one ſyllable to anſwer; becauſe that would be to hope for what is impoſſible; and ſo I have been telling the

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public theſe ten years. For, there are three events which muſt precede any ſuch bleſſing: Firſt, A liberty of trade; ſecondly, A ſhare of preferments in all kinds, equal to the Britiſh natives; and, thirdly, A return of thoſe abſentees, who take away almoſt one half of the kingdom's revenue. As to the firſt and ſecond, there is nothing left us but deſpair; and, for the third, it will never happen till the kingdom hath no money to ſend them, for which, in my own particular, I ſhould not be ſorry.

The exaction of landlords hath indeed been a grievance of above twenty years ſtanding. But, as to what you object about the ſevere clauſes relating to improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other ſide: For the landlords, either by their ignorance or greedineſs of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter ſo ill, as we ſee by experience, that there is not one tenant in five hundred who hath made any improvement worth mentioning. For which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants but beggary and deſolation; the cabins of the Scotch themſelves, in Ulſter, being as dirty and miſerable as thoſe of the wildeſt Iriſh.

Whereas

Whereas good firm penal clauſes for improvement, with a tolerable eaſy rent and a reaſonable period of time, would, in twenty years, have encreaſed the rents of Ireland at leaſt a third part in the intrinſic value.

I am glad to hear you ſpeak with ſome decency of the clergy, and to impute the exactions you lament to the managers or farmers of the tythes. But you entirely miſtake the fact: For I defy the moſt wicked and moſt powerful clergyman in the kingdom to oppreſs the meaneſt farmer in the pariſh; and I defy the ſame clergyman to prevent himſelf from being cheated by the ſame farmer, whenever that farmer ſhall be diſpoſed to be knaviſh or peeviſh. For, although the Ulſter tything-teller is more advantageous to the clergy than any other in the kingdom, yet the miniſter can demand no more than his tenth; and, where the corn much exceeds the ſmall tythes, as, except in ſome diſtricts, I am told it always doth, he is at the mercy of every ſtubborn farmer, eſpecially of thoſe whoſe ſect as well as intereſt incline them to oppoſition. However, I take it that your people, bent for America, do not ſhew the beſt part of their prudence in making this

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one part of their complaint: Yet they are ſo far wiſe as not to make the payment of tythes a ſcruple of conſcience, which is too groſs for any Proteſtant diſſenter, except a Quaker, to pretend. But, do your people indeed think, that, if tythes were aboliſhed, or delivered into the hands of the landlord after the bleſſed manner in the Scotch ſpiritual oeconomy, that the tenant would ſit eaſier in his rent under the ſame perſon, who muſt be lord of the ſoil and of the tythe together?

I am ready enough to grant, that the oppreſſion of landlords, the utter ruin of trade, with its neceſſary conſequence the want of money, half the revenues of the kingdom ſpent abroad, the continued dearth of three years, and the ſtrong deluſion in your people by falſe allurement from America, may be the chief motives of their eagerneſs after ſuch an expedition. But there is likewiſe another temptation, which is not of inconſiderable weight; which is, their itch of living in a country where their ſect is predominant, and where their eyes and conſciences will not be offended by the ſtumbling-block of ceremonies, habits, and ſpiritual titles.

But

But I was ſurpriſed to find that thoſe calamities, whereof we are innocent, have been ſufficient to drive many families out of their country, who had no reaſon to complain of oppreſſive landlords. For, while I was laſt year in the northern parts, a perſon of quality, whoſe eſtate was let above twenty years ago, and then at a very reaſonable rent, ſome for leaſes of lives, and ſome perpetuities, did, in a few months, purchaſe eleven of thoſe leaſes at a very inconſiderable price, although they were two years ago reckoned to pay but half value. From whence it is manifeſt that our preſent miſerable condition, and the diſmal proſpect of worſe, with other reaſons above aſſigned, are ſufficient to put men upon trying this deſperate experiment of changing the ſcene they are in, although landlords ſhould, by a miracle, become leſs inhuman.

There is hardly a ſcheme propoſed for improving the trade of this kingdom, which doth not manifeſtly ſhew the ſtupidity and ignorance of the propoſer: And I laugh with contempt at thoſe weak wiſe heads who proceed upon general maxims, or adviſe us to follow the examples of Holland and England. Theſe empirics talk

by rote, without underſtanding the conſtitution of the kingdom; as if a phyſician, knowing that exerciſe contributed much to health, ſhould preſcribe to his patient under a ſevere fit of the gout, to walk ten miles every morning. The directions for Ireland are very ſhort and plain, To encourage agriculture and home-conſumption, and utterly diſcard all importations which are not abſolutely neceſſary for health or life. And how few neceſſaries, conveniencies, or even comforts of life, are denied us by nature, or not to be attained by labour and induſtry? Are thoſe deteſtable extravagancies of Flanders-lace, Engliſh-cloths made of our own wool, and other goods, Italian or Indian ſilks, tea, coffee, chocolate, China-ware, and that profuſion of wines, by the knavery of merchants growing dearer every ſeaſon, with a hundred unneceſſary fopperies, better known to others than me: Are theſe, I ſay, fit for us, any more than for the beggar who could not eat his veal without oranges? Is it not the higheſt indignity to human nature, that men ſhould be ſuch poltrons, as to ſuffer the kingdom and themſelves to be undone, by the vanity, the folly, the pride, and wantonneſs of their wives; who,

who, under their preſent corruptions, ſeem to be a kind of animal ſuffered, for our ſins, to be ſent into the world for the deſtruction of families, ſocieties, and kingdoms, and whoſe whole ſtudy ſeems directed to be as expenſive as they poſſibly can in every uſeleſs article of living; who, by long practice, can reconcile the moſt pernicious foreign drugs to their health and pleaſure, provided they are but expenſive; as ſtarlings grow fat with henbane; who contract a robuſtneſs by mere practice of ſloth and luxury; who can play deep ſeveral hours after midnight, ſleep beyond noon, revel upon Indian poiſons, and ſpend the revenue of a moderate family, to adorn a nauſeous, unwholeſome living carcaſe? Let thoſe few, who are not concerned in any part of this accuſation, ſuppoſe it unſaid; let the reſt take it among them. Gracious God! in his mercy, look down upon a nation ſo ſhamefully beſotted.

If I am poſſeſſed of an hundred pounds a year, and by ſome misfortune it ſinks to fifty, without a poſſibility of ever being retrieved: Does it remain a queſtion, in ſuch an exigency, what I am to do? Muſt not I retrench one half in every article of expence? Or, retire to ſome cheap, diſtant

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part of the country, where neceſſaries are at half value?

Is there any mortal who can ſhew me, under the circumſtances we ſtand with our neighbours, under their inclinations towards us, under laws never to be repealed, under the deſolation cauſed by abſentees, under many other circumſtances not to be mentioned, that this kingdom can ever be a nation of trade, or ſubſiſt by any other method than that of a reduced family, by the utmoſt parſimony, in the manner I have already preſcribed?

I am tired with letters from many unreaſonable well-meaning people, who are daily preſſing me to deliver my thoughts in this deplorable juncture; which, upon many others, I have ſo often done in vain. What will it import, that half a ſcore people, in a coffee-houſe, may happen to read this paper, and even the majority of thoſe few, differ in every ſentiment from me? If the farmer be not allowed to ſow his corn, if half the little money among us be ſent to pay rents to Iriſh abſentees, and the reſt for foreign luxury, and dreſs for the women, what will our charitable diſpoſitions avail, when there is nothing left to be given? When, contrary to all cuſtom

and

and example, all neceſſaries of life are ſo exorbitant, when money of all kinds was never known to be ſo ſcarce? So that gentlemen of no contemptible eſtates are forced to retrench in every article (except what relates to their wives) without being able to ſhew any bounty to the poor.

AN ANSWER TO SEVERAL LETTERS ſent me from unknown Hands.

Written in the Year M DCC XXIX.

I AM very well pleaſed with the good opinion you expreſs of me, and wiſh it were any way in my power to anſwer your expectations, for the ſervice of my country. I have carefully read your ſeveral ſchemes and propoſals, which you think ſhould be offered to the parliament. In anſwer, I will aſſure you, that, in another place, I have known very good propoſals rejected with contempt by public aſſemblies, merely becauſe they were offered from without doors; and yours perhaps might have the ſame fate, eſpecially if handed into the public by me, who am not acquainted with three members, nor have the leaſt intereſt with one. My printers have been twice proſecuted, to my great expence, on account of diſcourſes I writ for the public ſervice, without the leaſt reflection on parties or perſons; and the ſucceſs

ſucceſs I had in thoſe of the Drapier was not owing to my abilities, but to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the firſt hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true both thoſe envenomed proſecutions were the workmanſhip of a judge, who is now gone to his own place *. But, let that be as it will, I am determined henceforth never to be the inſtrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench.

It is certain, there are ſeveral particulars relating to this kingdom, (I have mentioned a few of them in one of my Drapier's letters) which it were heartily to be wiſhed that the Parliament would take under their conſideration, ſuch as will nowiſe interfere with England, otherwiſe than to its advantage.

The firſt I ſhall mention is touched at in a letter which I received from one of you, Gentlemen, about the highways; which, indeed, are almoſt every where ſcandalouſly neglected. I know a very rich man in this city, a true lover and ſaver of his money, who, being poſſeſſed of ſome adjacent lands, hath been at great charge in repairing effectually the roads that lead to

* Lord Chief-Juſtice Whitſhed.

them; and hath aſſured me, that his lands are thereby advanced four or five ſhillings an acre, by which he gets treble intereſt. But, generally ſpeaking, all over the kingdom, the roads are deplorable; and, what is more particularly barbarous, there is no ſort of proviſion made for travellers on foot; no, not near this city, except in a very few places, and in a moſt wretched manner: Whereas the Engliſh are ſo particularly careful in this point, that you may travel there an hundred miles with leſs inconvenience than one mile here. But, ſince this may be thought too great a reformation, I ſhall only ſpeak of roads for horſes, carriages, and cattle.

Ireland is, I think, computed to be one third ſmaller than England; yet, by ſome natural diſadvantages, it would not bear quite the ſame proportion in value, with the ſame encouragement. However, it hath ſo happened, for many years paſt, that it never arrived to above one eleventh part in point of riches; and, of late, by the continual decreaſe of trade and increaſe of abſentees, with other circumſtances not here to be mentioned, hardly to a fifteenth part; at leaſt, if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favourable on our ſide.

Now,

Now, ſuppoſing day-labour to be cheaper by one half here than in England, and our roads, by the nature of our carriages and the deſolation of our country, to be not worn and beaten above one eighth part ſo much as thoſe of England, which is a very moderate computation; I do not ſee why the mending of them would be a greater burthen to this kingdom than to that.

There have been, I believe, twenty acts of parliament, in ſix or ſeven years of the late King *, for mending long tracts of impaſſable ways in ſeveral counties of England, by erecting turnpikes, and receiving paſſage-money in a manner that every body knows. If what I have advanced be true, it would be hard to give a reaſon againſt the ſame practice here, ſince the neceſſity is as great, the advantage in proportion perhaps much greater, the materials of ſtone and gravel as eaſy to be found, and the workmanſhip at leaſt twice as cheap. Beſides, the work may be done gradually, with allowances for the poverty of the nation, by ſo many perch a year; but with a ſpecial care to encourage ſkill and diligence, and to prevent fraud in the

* King George I.

undertakers, to which we are too liable, and which are not always confined to thoſe of the meaner ſort: But againſt theſe, no doubt, the wiſdom of the nation may, and will provide.

Another evil, which, in my opinion, deſerves the public care, is the ill-management of the bogs, the neglect whereof is a much greater miſchief to this kingdom than moſt people ſeem to be aware of.

It is allowed indeed, by thoſe who are eſteemed moſt ſkilful in ſuch matters, that the red ſwelling moſſy bog, whereof we have ſo many large tracts in this iſland, is not by any means to be fully reduced; but the ſkirts, which are covered with a green coat, eaſily may, being not an accretion, or annual growth of moſs, like the other.

Now the landlords are generally too careleſs that they ſuffer their tenants to cut their turf in theſe ſkirts, as well as the bog adjoined, whereby there is yearly loſt a conſiderable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered.

But this is not the greateſt part of the miſchief. For the main bog, although perhaps not reducible to natural ſoil, yet, by continuing large, deep, ſtraight canals through the middle, cleaned at proper

times, as low as the channel or gravel, would become a ſecure ſummer-paſture; the margins might, with great profit and ornament, be filled with quickins, birch, and other trees proper for ſuch a ſoil; and the canals be convenient for water-carriage of the turf, which is now drawn upon ſled-cars with great expence, difficulty, and loſs of time, by reaſon of the many turf-pits ſcattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it hath been, I confeſs, to me a matter of the greateſt vexation as well as wonder, to think how any landlord could be ſo abſurd as to ſuffer ſuch havock to be made.

All the acts for encouraging plantations of foreſt-trees are, I am told, extremely defective; which, with great ſubmiſſion, muſt have been owing to a defect of ſkill in the contrivers of them. In this climate, by the continual blowing of the Weſt-ſouth-weſt wind, hardly any tree of value will come to perfection that is not planted in groves, except very rarely, and where there is much land-ſhelter. I have not, indeed, read all the acts; but, from enquiry, I cannot learn that the planting in groves is enjoined. And, as to the effects

of theſe laws, I have not ſeen the leaſt, in many hundred miles riding, except about a very few gentlemens houſes, and even thoſe with very little ſkill or ſucceſs. In all the reſt, the hedges generally miſcarry, as well as the larger ſlender twigs planted upon the tops of ditches, merely for want of common ſkill and care.

I do not believe that a greater and quicker profit could be made, than by planting large groves of aſh, a few feet aſunder, which in ſeven years would make the beſt kind of hop-poles, and grow in the ſame, or leſs time, to a ſecond crop from their roots.

It would likewiſe be of great uſe and beauty in our deſert ſcenes, to oblige all tenants and cottagers to plant aſh or elm before their cabbins, and round their potatoe-gardens, where cattle either do not, or ought not to come to deſtroy them.

The common objections againſt all this, drawn from the lazineſs, the perverſeneſs, or thieviſh diſpoſition of the poor native Iriſh, might be eaſily anſwered, by ſhewing the true reaſons for ſuch accuſations, and how eaſily thoſe people may be brought to a leſs ſavage manner of life: But my printers have already ſuffered too much for my

my ſpeculations. However, ſuppoſing the ſize of a native's underſtanding juſt equal to that of a dog or horſe, I have often ſeen thoſe two animals to be civilized by rewards, at leaſt as much as by puniſhments.

It would be a noble atchievement to aboliſh the Iriſh language in this kingdom, ſo far at leaſt as to oblige all the natives to ſpeak only Engliſh on every occaſion of buſineſs, in ſhops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing: Yet I am wholly deceived if this might not be effectually done in leſs than half an age, and at a very trifling expence; for ſuch I look upon a tax to be, of only ſix thouſand pounds a year, to accompliſh ſo great a work. This would, in a great meaſure, civilize the moſt barbarous among them, reconcile them to our cuſtoms and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be eſtabliſhed. The method is plain and ſimple; and, although I am too deſponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wiſh ſome public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, ſavage, beaſtly, thieviſh manner of life, in which they continue ſunk to a degree,

degree, that it is almoſt impoſſible for a country gentleman to find a ſervant of human capacity, or the leaſt tincture of natural honeſty; or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations deſtroyed, his cattle ſtolen, and his goods pilfered.

The love, affection, or vanity of living in England, continuing to carry thither ſo many wealthy families, the conſequences thereof, together with the utter loſs of all trade, except what is detrimental, which hath forced ſuch great numbers of weavers and others to ſeek their bread in foreign countries, the unhappy practice of ſtocking ſuch vaſt quantities of land with ſheep and other cattle, which reduceth twenty families to one: Theſe events, I ſay, have exceedingly depopulated this kingdom for ſeveral years paſt. I ſhould heartily wiſh, therefore, under this miſerable dearth of money, that thoſe who are moſt concerned would think it adviſeable to ſave a hundred thouſand pounds a year, which is now ſent out of this kingdom to feed us with corn. There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in the politics of all wiſe nations, than that of encouraging agriculture. And, therefore, to what kind

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of wiſdom a practice ſo directly contrary among us may be reduced, I am by no means a judge. If labour and people make the true riches of a nation, what muſt be the iſſue where one part of the people are forced away, and the other part have nothing to do?

If it ſhould be thought proper by wiſer heads, that his Majeſty might be applied to in a national way, for giving the kingdom leave to coin halfpence for its own uſe; I believe no good ſubject will be under the leaſt apprehenſion that ſuch a requeſt could meet with refuſal, or the leaſt delay. Perhaps we are the only kingdom upon earth, or that ever was or will be upon earth, which did not enjoy that common right of civil ſociety, under the proper inſpection of its prince, or legiſlature, to coin money of all uſual metals for its own occaſions. Every petty prince in Germany, vaſſal to the Emperor, enjoys this privilege. And I have ſeen in this kingdom ſeveral ſilver pieces, with the inſcription of *Civitas Waterford*, *Droghedagh*, and other towns.

THE

THE SUBSTANCE OF

What was ſaid by the DEAN of ST. PATRICK'S to the LORD MAYOR and ſome of the ALDERMEN, when his Lordſhip came to preſent the ſaid DEAN with his Freedom in a Gold-box.

WHEN his Lordſhip had ſaid a few words, and preſented the inſtrument, the Dean gently put it back, and deſired firſt to be heard. He ſaid, He was much obliged to his Lordſhip and the city for the honour they were going to do him, and which, as he was informed, they had long intended him: That it was true this honour was mingled with a little mortification, by the delay which attended it; but which, however, he did not impute to his Lordſhip or the city: And that the mortification was the leſs, becauſe he would willingly hope the delay was founded on a miſtake; for which opinion he would tell his reaſon. He ſaid, It was well known, that, ſome time ago, a perſon with a title

was pleaſed, in two great aſſemblies, to rattle bitterly ſome body without a name, under the injurious appellations of a Tory, a Jacobite, an enemy to King George, and a libeller of the government; which character, the Dean ſaid that many people thought, was applied to him: But he was unwilling to be of that opinion, becauſe the perſon who had delivered thoſe abuſive words had, for ſeveral years, careſſed and courted, and ſolicited his friendſhip more than any man in either kingdom had ever done; by inviting him to his houſe in town and country, by coming to the Deanry often, and calling or ſending almoſt every day when the Dean was ſick, with many other particulars of the ſame nature, which continued even to a day or two of the time when the ſaid perſon made thoſe invectives in the Council and Houſe of Lords. Therefore, that the Dean would by no means think thoſe ſcurrilous words could be intended againſt him; becauſe ſuch a proceeding would overthrow all the principles of honour, juſtice, religion, truth, and even common humanity. Therefore the Dean will endeavour to believe, that the ſaid perſon had ſome other object in his thoughts, and it was only the uncha-

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ritable cuſtom of the world that applied this character to him. However, that he would inſiſt on this argument no longer: But one thing he would affirm and declare, without aſſigning any name or making any exception, That, whoever either did or does, or ſhall hereafter at any time, charge him with the character of a Jacobite, an enemy to King George, or a libeller of the government, the ſaid accuſation was, is, and will be falſe, malicious, ſlanderous, and altogether groundleſs. And, he would take the freedom to tell his Lordſhip and the reſt that ſtood by, that he had done more ſervice to the Hanover-title, and more diſſervice to the Pretender's cauſe, than forty thouſand of thoſe noiſy, railing, malicious, empty zealots, to whom nature hath denied any talent that could be of uſe to God or their country, and left them only the gift of reviling, and ſpitting their venom, againſt all who differ from them in their deſtructive principles both in church and ſtate. That he confeſſed it was ſometimes his misfortune to diſlike ſome things in public proceedings in both kingdoms, wherein he had often the honour to agree with wiſe and good men; but this did by no means affect either his

loyalty to his prince, or love to his country. But, on the contrary, he proteſted that ſuch diſlikes never aroſe in him from any other principles, than the duty he owed to the King, and his affection to the kingdom. That he had been acquainted with courts and miniſters long enough, and knew too well that the beſt miniſters might miſtake in points of great importance; and that he had the honour to know many more able, and at leaſt full as honeſt as any can be at preſent. The Dean further ſaid, That, ſince he had been ſo falſely repreſented, he thought it became him to give ſome account of himſelf for above twenty years, if it were only to juſtify his Lordſhip and the city for the honour they were going to do him. He related briefly how, merely by his own perſonal credit, without other aſſiſtance, and in two journeys at his own expence, he had procured a grant of the firſt fruits to the clergy, in the late Queen's time; for which he thought he deſerved ſome gentle treatment from his brethren. That, during all the adminiſtration of the ſaid miniſtry, he had been a conſtant advocate for thoſe who are called the Whigs; had kept many of them in their employments, both in England

land and here, and ſome who were afterwards the firſt to lift up their heels againſt him. He reflected a little upon the ſevere treatment he had met with upon his return to Ireland after her Majeſty's death, and for ſome years after. That, being forced to live retired, he could think of no better way to do public ſervice, than by employing all the little money he could ſave, and lending it, without intereſt, in ſmall ſums to poor induſtrious tradeſmen, without examining their party or their faith. And God had ſo far pleaſed to bleſs his endeavours, that his managers tell him he hath recovered above two hundred families in this city from ruin, and placed moſt of them in a comfortable way of life. The Dean related how much he had ſuffered in his purſe, and with what hazard to his liberty, by a moſt iniquitous judge; * who, to gratify his ambition and rage of party, had condemned an innocent book, written with no worſe a deſign, than to perſuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures. How the ſaid judge had endeavoured to get a jury to his mind, but they proved ſo honeſt, that he was forced to keep them eleven hours, and ſend them

* See the Note Vol. X. page 1.

back nine times, until, at laſt, they were compelled to leave the printer * to the mercy of the court. And the Dean was forced to procure a *nolì proſequi* from a Noble Perſon, then ſecretary of ſtate, who had been his old friend. The Dean then freely confeſſed himſelf to be author of thoſe books called the *Drapier's Letters*, ſpoke gently of the proclamation offering 300 *l.* to diſcover the writer. He ſaid, That although a certain perſon was pleaſed to mention thoſe books in a ſlight manner at a public aſſembly, yet he (the Dean) had learned to believe, that there were ten thouſand to one in the kingdom who differed from that perſon; and the people of England, who had ever heard of the matter, as well as in France, were all of the ſame opinion. The Dean mentioned ſeveral other particulars, ſome of which, thoſe from whom I had the account could not recollect, and others, although of great conſequence, perhaps his enemies would not allow him. The Dean concluded with acknowledging to have expreſſed his wiſhes, that an inſcription might have been graven on the box, ſhewing ſome reaſon why the city thought fit

* Harding.

to do him that honour, which was much out of the common forms to a perſon in a private ſtation; thoſe diſtinctions being uſually made only to chief governors, or perſons in very high employments.

THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

I AM in all opinions to believe according to my own impartial reaſon; which I am bound to inform and improve, as far as my capacity and opportunities will permit.

It may be prudent in me to act ſometimes by other mens reaſon, but I can think only by my own.

If another man's reaſon fully convinceth me, it becomes my own reaſon.

To ſay a man is bound to believe, is neither truth nor ſenſe.

You may force men, by intereſt or puniſhment, to ſay or ſwear they believe, and to act as if they believed: You can go no further.

Every man, as a member of the commonwealth, ought to be content with the poſſeſſion of his own opinion in private, without perplexing his neighbour or diſturbing the public.

Violent zeal for truth hath an hundred to one odds to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride.

There is a degree of corruption wherein ſome nations, as bad as the world is, will proceed to an amendment; till which time particular men ſhould be quiet.

To remove opinions fundamental in religion is impoſſible, and the attempt wicked, whether thoſe opinions be true or falſe; unleſs your avowed deſign be to aboliſh that religion altogether. So, for inſtance, in the famous doctrine of Chriſt's divinity, which hath been univerſally received by all bodies of Chriſtians, ſince the condemnation of Arianiſm under Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors: Wherefore the proceedings of the Socinians are both vain and unwarrantable; becauſe they will be never able to advance their own opinion, or meet any other ſucceſs than breeding doubts and diſturbances in the world. *Qui ratione ſuâ diſturbant mœnia mundi.*

The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome.

The Chriſtian religion, in the moſt early times, was propoſed to the Jews and Heathens without the article of Chriſt's divi-

nity;

nity; which, I remember, Eraſmus accounts for, by its being too ſtrong a meat for babes. Perhaps, if it were now ſoftened by the Chineſe miſſionaries, the converſion of thoſe infidels would be leſs difficult: And we find by the Alcoran, it is the great ſtumbling-block of the Mahometans. But, in a country already Chriſtian, to bring ſo fundamental a point of faith into debate, can have no conſequences that are not pernicious to morals and public peace.

I have been often offended to find St. Paul's allegories, and other figures of Grecian eloquence, converted by divines into articles of faith.

God's mercy is over all his works, but divines of all ſorts leſſen that mercy too much.

I look upon myſelf, in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by providence for defending a poſt aſſigned me, and for gaining over as many enemies as I can. Although I think my cauſe is juſt, yet one great motion is my ſubmitting to the pleaſure of Providence, and to the laws of my country.

I am not anſwerable to God for the doubts that ariſe in my own breaſt, ſince they are the conſequence of that reaſon

which he hath planted in me, if I take care to conceal thoſe doubts from others, if I uſe my beſt endeavours to ſubdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life.

I believe that thouſands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compaſs of ſubtleties, niceties, and diſtinctions, with little warrant from Scripture, and leſs from reaſon or good policy.

I never ſaw, heard, nor read, that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Chriſtianity was the religion of the country. Nothing can render them popular but ſome degree of perſecution.

Thoſe fine gentlemen who affect the humour of railing at the clergy, are, I think, bound in honour to turn parſons themſelves, and ſhew us better examples.

Miſerable mortals! can we contribute to the *honour and glory of God?* I could wiſh that expreſſion were ſtruck out of our Prayer-books.

Liberty of conſcience, properly ſpeaking, is no more than the liberty of poſſeſſing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the ma-

giſtrate:

giſtrate: But how far he ſhall publicly act in purſuance of thoſe opinions, is to be regulated by the laws of the country. Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-inſtituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know ſeveral others of the ſame opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I ſhould inſiſt upon liberty of conſcience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books preferring that government and condemning what is eſtabliſhed, the magiſtrate would, with great juſtice, hang me and my diſciples. It is the ſame caſe in religion, although not ſo avowed, where liberty of conſcience, under the preſent acceptation, equally produces revolutions, or at leaſt convulſions and diſturbances in a ſtate; which politicians would ſee well enough, if their eyes were not blinded by faction, and of which theſe kingdoms, as well as France, Sweden, and other countries, are flaming inſtances. Cromwell's notion upon this article was natural and right; when, upon the ſurrender of a town in Ireland, the Popiſh governor inſiſted upon an article for liberty of conſcience, Cromwell ſaid, he meddled with no man's conſcience; but, if by liberty of conſcience, the governor meant

the liberty of the Maſs, he had expreſs orders from the parliament of England againſt admitting any ſuch liberty at all.

It is impoſſible that any thing ſo natural, ſo neceſſary, and ſo univerſal as death, ſhould ever have been deſigned by providence as an evil to mankind.

Although reaſon were intended by providence to govern our paſſions, yet it ſeems that, in two points of the greateſt moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our paſſions to prevail over reaſon. The firſt is, the propagation of our ſpecies, ſince no wiſe man ever married from the dictates of reaſon. The other is, the love of life, which, from the dictates of reaſon, every man would deſpiſe, and wiſh it at an end, or that it never had a beginning.

FURTHER THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

THE Scripture-ſyſtem of man's creation is what Chriſtians are bound to believe, and ſeems moſt agreeable of all others to probability and reaſon. Adam was formed from a piece of clay, and Eve from one of his ribs. The text mentioneth nothing of his Maker's intending him for, except to rule over the beaſts of the field and birds of the air. As to Eve, it doth not appear that her huſband was her monarch, only ſhe was to be his help meet, and placed in ſome degree of ſubjection. However, before his fall, the beaſts were his moſt obedient ſubjects, whom he governed by abſolute power. After his eating the forbidden fruit, the courſe of nature was changed, the animals began to reject his government; ſome were able to eſcape by flight, and others were too fierce to be attacked. The Scripture mentioneth no particular acts of royalty in Adam over his

his poſterity, who were cotemporary with him, or of any monarch until after the flood; whereof the firſt was Nimrod, the mighty hunter, who, as Milton expreſſeth it, made men, and not beaſts, his prey. For men were eaſier caught by promiſes, and ſubdued by the folly or treachery of their own ſpecies. Whereas the brutes prevailed only by their courage or ſtrength, which, among them, are peculiar to certain kinds. Lions, bears, elephants, and ſome other animals are ſtrong or valiant, and their ſpecies never degenerates in their native ſoil, except they happen to be enſlaved or deſtroyed by human fraud: But men degenerate every day, merely by the folly, the perverſeneſs, the avarice, the tyranny, the pride, the treachery, or inhumanity of their own kind.

A PRAYER FOR STELLA.

ALMIGHTY and moſt gracious Lord God, extend, we beſeech thee, thy pity and compaſſion towards this thy languiſhing ſervant: Teach her to place her hope and confidence entirely in thee; give her a true ſenſe of the emptyneſs and vanity of all earthly things; make her truly ſenſible of all the infirmities of her life paſt, and grant to her ſuch a true ſincere repentance as is not to be repented of. Preſerve her, O Lord, in a ſound mind and underſtanding, during this thy viſitation; keep her from both the ſad extremes of preſumption and deſpair. If thou ſhalt pleaſe to reſtore her to her former health, give her grace to be ever mindful of that mercy, and to keep thoſe good reſolutions ſhe now makes in her ſickneſs, ſo that no length of time, nor proſperity, may entice her to forget them. Let no thought of her misfortunes diſtract her mind, and prevent the means towards her recovery,

or diſturb her in her preparations for a better life. We beſeech thee alſo, O Lord, of thy infinite goodneſs to remember the good actions of this thy ſervant; that the naked ſhe hath clothed, the hungry ſhe hath fed, the ſick and the fatherleſs whom ſhe hath relieved, may be reckoned according to thy gracious promiſe, as if they had been done unto thee. Hearken, O Lord, to the prayers offered up by the friends of this thy ſervant in her behalf, and eſpecially thoſe now made by us unto thee. Give thy bleſſing to thoſe endeavours uſed for her recovery; but take from her all violent deſire, either of life or death, further than with reſignation to thy holy will. And now, O Lord, we implore thy gracious favour towards us here met together; grant that the ſenſe of this thy ſervant's weakneſs may add ſtrength to our faith, that we, conſidering the infirmities of our nature, and the uncertainty of life, may, by this example, be drawn to repentance before it ſhall pleaſe thee to viſit us in the like manner. Accept theſe prayers, we beſeech Thee, for the ſake of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord; who, with Thee and the Holy Ghoſt, liveth and reigneth ever one God world without end. Amen.

A SERMON.

1 Cor. iii. 19.

The wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs with God.

IT is remarkable that, about the time of our Saviour's coming into the world, all kinds of learning flouriſhed to a very great degree, inſomuch that nothing is more frequent in the mouths of many men, even ſuch who pretend to read and to know, than an extravagant praiſe and opinion of the wiſdom and virtue of the Gentile ſages of thoſe days, and likewiſe of thoſe antient philoſophers who went before them, whoſe doctrines are left upon record either by themſelves or other writers. As far as this may be taken for granted, it may be ſaid, that the providence of God brought this about for ſeveral very wiſe ends and purpoſes. For, it is certain that theſe philoſophers had been a long time before ſearching out where to fix the true happineſs of man; and, not being able to agree upon any certainty about it, they could not poſſibly but conclude, if they judged impartially, that

all their enquiries were, in the end, but vain and fruitleſs; the conſequence of which muſt be not only an acknowledgment of the weakneſs of all human wiſdom, but likewiſe an open paſſage hereby made, for the letting in thoſe beams of light, which the glorious ſunſhine of the goſpel then brought into the world, by revealing thoſe hidden truths, which they had ſo long before been labouring to diſcover, and fixing the general happineſs of mankind beyond all controverſy and diſpute. And therefore the providence of God wiſely ſuffered men of deep genius and learning then to ariſe, who ſhould ſearch into the truth of the goſpel now made known, and canvaſs its doctrines with all the ſubtilty and knowledge they were maſters of, and in the end freely acknowledge that to be the true wiſdom only which cometh from above. James iii. 15, 16, 17.

However, to make a further enquiry into the truth of this obſervation, I doubt not but there is reaſon to think that a great many of thoſe encomiums given to antient philoſophers are taken upon truſt, and by a ſort of men who are not very likely to be at the pains of an enquiry that would

employ

employ ſo much time and thinking. For the uſual ends why men affect this kind of diſcourſe, appear generally to be either out of oſtentation, that they may paſs upon the world for perſons of great knowledge and obſervation; or, what is worſe, there are ſome who highly exalt the wiſdom of thoſe Gentile ſages, thereby obliquely to glance at and traduce Divine Revelation, and more eſpecially that of the goſpel; for the conſequence they would have us draw, is this: That, ſince thoſe antient philoſophers roſe to a greater pitch of wiſdom and virtue than was ever known among Chriſtians, and all this purely upon the ſtrength of their own reaſon and liberty of thinking, therefore it muſt follow, that either all Revelation is falſe, or, what is worſe, that it has depraved the nature of man, and left him worſe than it found him.

But this high opinion of Heathen wiſdom is not very antient in the world, nor at all countenanced from primitive times: Our Saviour had but a low eſteem of it, as appears by his treatment of the Phariſees and Sadducees, who followed the doctrines of Plato and Epicurus. St. Paul likewiſe, who was well verſed in all the Gre-

cian literature, ſeems very much to deſpiſe their philoſophy, as we find in his writings, cautioning the Coloſſians to beware leſt any man ſpoil them through philoſophy and vain deceit. And, in another place, he adviſes Timothy to avoid prophane and vain babblings, and oppoſitions of ſcience, falſely ſo called; that is, not to introduce into the Chriſtian doctrine the janglings of thoſe vain philoſophers, which they would paſs upon the world for ſcience. And the reaſons he gives are, firſt, That thoſe who profeſſed them did err concerning the faith: Secondly, Becauſe the knowledge of them did encreaſe ungodlineſs, vain babblings being otherways expounded vanities, or empty ſounds; that is, tedious diſputes about words, which the philoſophers were always ſo full of, and which were the natural product of diſputes and diſſentions between ſeveral ſects.

Neither had the primitive fathers any great or good opinion of the Heathen philoſophy, as it is manifeſt from ſeveral paſſages in their writings: So that this vein of affecting to raiſe the reputation of thoſe ſages ſo high, is a mode and a vice but of yeſterday, aſſumed chiefly, as I have ſaid,

to

to diſparage revealed knowledge, and the conſequences of it among us.

Now, becauſe this is a prejudice which may prevail with ſome perſons, ſo far as to leſſen the influence of the goſpel, and whereas therefore this is an opinion which men of education are like to be encountered with, when they have produced themſelves into the world; I ſhall endeavour to ſhew that their preference of Heathen wiſdom and virtue, before that of the Chriſtian, is every way unjuſt, and grounded upon ignorance or miſtake: In order to which I ſhall conſider four things.

Firſt, I ſhall produce certain points, wherein the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſophy in general, fell ſhort, and was very imperfect.

Secondly, I ſhall ſhew, in ſeveral inſtances, where ſome of the moſt renowned philoſophers have been groſsly defective in their leſſons of morality.

Thirdly, I ſhall prove the perfection of Chriſtian wiſdom, from the proper characters and marks of it.

Laſtly, I ſhall ſhew that the great examples of wiſdom and virtue among the Heathen wiſe men, were produced by perſonal merit, and not influenced by the

doctrine of any ſect; whereas, in Chriſtianity, it is quite the contrary.

Firſt, I ſhall produce certain points, wherein the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſophy in general fell ſhort, and was very imperfect.

My deſign is to perſuade men, that Chriſtian philoſophy is in all things preferable to Heathen wiſdom; from which, or its profeſſors, I ſhall however have no occaſion to detract. They were as wiſe and as good as it was poſſible for them under ſuch diſadvantages, and would have probably been infinitely more with ſuch aids as we enjoy: But our leſſons are certainly much better, however our practices may fall ſhort.

The firſt point I ſhall mention was that univerſal defect which was in all their ſchemes, that they could not agree about their chief good, or wherein to place the happineſs of mankind, nor had any of them a tolerable anſwer upon this difficulty, to ſatisfy a reaſonable perſon. For, to ſay, as the moſt plauſible of them did, that happineſs conſiſted in virtue, was but vain babbling, and a mere ſound of words, to amuſe others and themſelves; becauſe they were not agreed what this virtue was, or

wherein

wherein it did conſiſt; and likewiſe, becauſe ſeveral among the beſt of them taught quite different things, placing happineſs in health or good fortune, in riches or in honour, where all were agreed that virtue was not, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew, when I ſpeak of their particular tenets.

The ſecond great defect in the Gentile philoſophy was, that it wanted ſome ſuitable reward proportioned to the better part of man, his mind, as an encouragement for his progreſs in virtue. The difficulties they met with upon the ſcore of this default were great, and not to be accounted for: Bodily goods, being only ſuitable to bodily wants, are no reſt at all for the mind; and, if they were, yet are they not the proper fruits of wiſdom and virtue, being equally attainable by the ignorant and wicked. Now, human nature is ſo conſtituted, that we can never purſue any thing heartily but upon hopes of a reward. If we run a race, it is in expectation of a prize, and the greater the prize the faſter we run; for an incorruptible crown, if we underſtand it and believe it to be ſuch, more than a corruptible one. But ſome of the philoſophers gave all this quite an-

other turn, and pretended to refine ſo far, as to call virtue its own reward, and worthy to be followed only for itſelf: Whereas, if there be any thing in this more than the ſound of the words, it is at leaſt too abſtracted to become an univerſal influencing principle in the world, and therefore could not be of general uſe.

It was the want of aſſigning ſome happineſs, proportioned to the ſoul of man, that cauſed many of them, either, on the one hand, to be ſour and moroſe, ſupercilious and untreatable; or, on the other, to fall into the vulgar purſuits of common men, to hunt after greatneſs and riches, to make their court, and to ſerve occaſions; as Plato did to the younger Dionyſius, and Ariſtotle to Alexander the Great. So impoſſible is it for a man, who looks no further than the preſent world, to fix himſelf long in a contemplation where the preſent world has no part: He has no ſure hold, no firm footing; he can never expect to remove the earth he reſts upon, while he has no ſupport beſide for his feet, but wants, like Archimedes, ſome other place whereon to ſtand. To talk of bearing pain and grief, without any ſort of preſent or future hope, cannot be purely greatneſs of

ſpirit;

ſpirit; there muſt be a mixture in it of affectation, and an allay of pride, or perhaps is wholly counterfeit.

It is true there has been all along in the world a notion of rewards and puniſhments in another life; but it ſeems to have rather ſerved as an entertainment to poets, or as a terror of children, than a ſettled principle, by which men pretended to govern any of their actions. The laſt celebrated words of Socrates, a little before his death, do not ſeem to reckon or build much upon any ſuch opinion; and Cæſar made no ſcruple to diſown it, and ridicule it in open ſenate.

Thirdly, The greateſt and wiſeſt of all their philoſophers were never able to give any ſatisfaction, to others and themſelves, in their notions of a Deity. They were often extremely groſs and abſurd in their conceptions; and thoſe who made the faireſt conjectures are ſuch as were generally allowed by the learned to have ſeen the ſyſtem of Moſes, if I may ſo call it, who was in great reputation at that time in the Heathen world, as we find by Diodorus, Juſtin, Longinus, and other authors; for the reſt, the wiſeſt among them laid aſide all notions after a Deity, as a diſquiſition

ſition vain and fruitleſs, which indeed it was, upon unrevealed principles; and thoſe who ventured to engage too far fell into incoherence and confuſion.

Fourthly, Thoſe among them who had the juſteſt conceptions of a Divine Power, and did alſo admit a Providence, had no notion at all of entirely relying and depending upon either; they truſted in themſelves for all things: But, as for a truſt or dependence upon God, they would not have underſtood the phraſe; it made no part of the profane ſtyle.

Therefore it was, that, in all iſſues and events, which they could not reconcile to their own ſentiments of reaſon and juſtice, they were quite diſconcerted: They had no retreat; but, upon every blow of adverſe fortune, either affected to be indifferent, or grew ſullen and ſevere, or elſe yielded and ſunk like other men.

Having now produced certain points, wherein the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſophy fell ſhort, and was very imperfect; I go on, in the ſecond place, to ſhew in ſeveral inſtances, where ſome of the moſt renowned philoſophers have been groſsly defective in their leſſons of morality.

Thales, the founder of the Ionic ſect, ſo celebrated for morality, being aſked how a man might bear ill-fortune with greateſt eaſe, anſwered, " By ſeeing his enemies in " a worſe condition." An anſwer truly barbarous, unworthy of human nature, and which included ſuch conſequences as muſt deſtroy all ſociety from the world.

Solon, lamenting the death of a ſon, one told him, " You lament in vain:" " There- " fore (ſaid he) I lament, becauſe it is in " vain." This was a plain confeſſion how imperfect all his philoſophy was, and that ſomething was ſtill wanting. He owned that all his wiſdom and morals were uſeleſs, and this upon one of the moſt frequent accidents in life. How much better could he have learned to ſupport himſelf even from David, by his entire dependence upon God; and that before our Saviour had advanced the notions of religion to the height and perfection wherewith he hath inſtructed his diſciples? Plato himſelf, with all his refinements, placed happineſs in wiſdom, health, good fortune, honour, and riches; and held that they who enjoyed all theſe were perfectly happy: Which opinion was indeed unworthy it's owner, leaving the wiſe and the good man wholly

at the mercy of uncertain chance, and to be miſerable without reſource.

His ſcholar, Ariſtotle, fell more groſsly into the ſame notion; and plainly affirmed, That virtue, without the goods of fortune, was not ſufficient for happineſs, but that a wiſe man muſt be miſerable in poverty and ſickneſs. Nay, Diogenes himſelf, from whoſe pride and ſingularity one would have looked for other notions, delivered it as his opinion, That a poor old man was the moſt miſerable thing in life.

Zeno alſo and his followers fell into many abſurdities, among which nothing could be greater than that of maintaining all crimes to be equal, which, inſtead of making vice hateful, rendered it as a thing indifferent and familiar to all men.

Laſtly, Epicurus had no notion of juſtice but as it was profitable; and his placing happineſs in pleaſure, with all the advantages he could expound it by, was liable to very great exception: For, although he taught that pleaſure did conſiſt in virtue, yet he did not any way fix or aſcertain the boundaries of virtue, as he ought to have done; by which means he miſled his followers into the greateſt vices, making their

their names to become odious and ſcandalous, even in the Heathen world.

I have produced theſe few inſtances from a great many others, to ſhew the imperfection of Heathen philoſophy, wherein I have confined myſelf wholly to their morality. And ſurely we may pronounce upon it in the words of St. James, that *This wiſdom deſcended not from above, but was earthly and ſenſual.* What if I had produced their abſurd notions about God and the ſoul? It would then have compleated the character given it by that Apoſtle, and appeared to have been deviliſh too. But it is eaſy to obſerve, from the nature of theſe few particulars, that their defects in morals were purely the flagging and fainting of the mind, for want of a ſupport by revelation from God.

I proceed therefore, in the third place, to ſhew the perfection of Chriſtian wiſdom from above, and I ſhall endeavour to make it appear from thoſe proper characters and marks of it by the Apoſtle before-mentioned, in the third chapter, and 15th, 16th, and 17th verſes.

The words run thus:

This wiſdom deſcendeth not from above, but is earthly, ſenſual, deviliſh.

For

For where envying and ſtrife is, there is confuſion, and every evil work.

But the wiſdom that is from above, is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocriſy.

The wiſdom from above is firſt pure. This purity of the mind and ſpirit is peculiar to the goſpel. Our Saviour ſays, *Bleſſed are the pure in heart, for they ſhall ſee God.* A mind free from all pollution of luſts ſhall have a daily viſion of God, whereof unrevealed religion can form no notion. This is it which keeps us unſpotted from the world; and hereby many have been prevailed upon to live in the practice of all purity, holineſs, and righteouſneſs, far beyond the examples of the moſt celebrated philoſophers.

It is *peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be entreated.* The Chriſtian doctrine teacheth us all thoſe diſpoſitions that make us affable and courteous, gentle and kind, without any moroſe leaven of pride or vanity, which entered into the compoſition of moſt Heathen ſchemes: So we are taught to be meek and lowly. Our Saviour's laſt legacy was Peace; and he commands us to forgive our offending brother unto ſeventy

times

times ſeven. Chriſtian wiſdom is full of mercy and good works, teaching the height of all moral virtues, of which the Heathens fall infinitely ſhort. Plato indeed (and it is worth obſerving) has ſomewhere a dialogue, or part of one, about forgiving our enemies, which was perhaps the higheſt ſtrain ever reached by man, without divine aſſiſtance; yet how little is that to what our Saviour commands us? *To love them that hate us; to bleſs them that curſe us; and do good to them that deſpitefully uſe us.*

Chriſtian wiſdom is *without partiality;* it is not calculated for this or that nation or people, but the whole race of mankind: Not to the philoſophical ſchemes, which were narrow and confined, adapted to their peculiar towns, governments, or ſects; but, in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him.

Laſtly, It is *without hypocriſy:* It appears to be what it really is; it is all of a piece. By the doctrines of the goſpel we are ſo far from being allowed to publiſh to the world thoſe virtues we have not, that we are commanded to hide, even from ourſelves, thoſe we really have, and not to let our

right

right hand know what our left hand does; unlike ſeveral branches of the Heathen wiſdom, which pretended to teach inſenſibility and indifference, magnanimity and contempt of life, while, at the ſame time, in other parts it belied its own doctrines.

I come now, in the laſt place, to ſhew that the great examples of wiſdom and virtue, among the Grecian ſages, were produced by perſonal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any particular ſect; whereas, in Chriſtianity, it is quite the contrary.

The two virtues moſt celebrated by antient moraliſts were fortitude and temperance, as relating to the government of man in his private capacity, to which their ſchemes were generally addreſſed and confined; and the two inſtances, wherein thoſe virtues arrived at the greateſt height, were Socrates and Cato. But neither thoſe, nor any other virtues poſſeſſed by theſe two, were at all owing to any leſſons or doctrines of a ſect. For Socrates himſelf was of none at all; and although Cato was called a Stoic, it was more from a reſemblance of manners in his worſt qualities, than that he avowed himſelf one of their diſciples. The ſame may be affirmed of

many

many other great men of antiquity. From whence I infer, that thoſe who were renowned for virtue among them, were more obliged to the good natural diſpoſitions of their own minds, than to the doctrines of any ſect they pretended to follow.

On the other ſide, As the examples of fortitude and patience, among the primitive Chriſtians, have been infinitely greater and more numerous, ſo they were altogether the product of their principles and doctrine; and were ſuch as the ſame perſons, without thoſe aids, would never have arrived to. Of this truth moſt of the apoſtles, with many thouſand martyrs, are a cloud of witneſſes beyond exception. Having therefore ſpoken ſo largely upon the former heads, I ſhall dwell no longer upon this.

And, if it ſhould here be objected, Why does not Chriſtianity ſtill produce the ſame effects? it is eaſy to anſwer, Firſt, That although the number of pretended Chriſtians be great, yet that of true believers, in proportion to the other, was never ſo ſmall; and it is a true lively faith alone, that by the aſſiſtance of God's grace, can influence our practice.

Secondly,

Secondly, we may anſwer, That Chriſtianity itſelf has very much ſuffered by being blended up with Gentile philoſophy. The Platonic ſyſtem, firſt taken into religion, was thought to have given matter for ſome early hereſies in the church. When diſputes began to ariſe, the Peripatetic forms were introduced by Scotus, as beſt fitted for controverſy. And, however this may now have become neceſſary, it was ſurely the author of a litigious vein, which has ſince occaſioned very pernicious conſequences, ſtopt the progreſs of Chriſtianity, and been a great promoter of vice, verifying that ſentence given by St. James, and mentioned before, *Where envying and ſtrife is, there is confuſion, and every evil work.* This was the fatal ſtop to the Grecians, in their progreſs both of arts and arms: Their wiſe men were divided under ſeveral ſects, and their governments under ſeveral commonwealths, all in oppoſition to each other; which engaged them in eternal quarrels among themſelves, while they ſhould have been armed againſt the common enemy. And I wiſh we had no other examples from the like cauſes, leſs foreign or antient than that. Diogenes ſaid Socrates was a madman; the diſciples of Zeno

and

nd Epicurus, nay of Plato and Ariſtotle, rere engaged in fierce diſputes about the noſt inſignificant trifles. And, if this be he preſent language and practice among is Chriſtians, no wonder that Chriſtianity oes not ſtill produce the ſame effects hich it did at firſt, when it was received nd embraced in its utmoſt purity and per-ection. For ſuch a wiſdom as this cannot *eſcend from above*, but muſt be *earthly, ſen-ual, deviliſh; full of confuſion and every evil work:* Whereas *the wiſdom from above, is irſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be ntreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without artiality, and without hypocriſy.* This is the rue heavenly wiſdom, which Chriſtianity nly can boaſt of, and which the greateſt f the Heathen wiſe men could never rrive at.

Now to God the Father, *&c. &c.*

UPON GIVING

BADGES

TO

THE POOR*.

THE continual concourſe of beggars, from all parts of the kingdom to this city, having made it impoſſible for the ſeveral pariſhes to maintain their own poor, according to the antient laws of the land; ſeveral Lord Mayors did apply themſelves to the Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin, that his Grace would direct his clergy, and the church-wardens of the ſaid city, to appoint badges of braſs, copper, or pewter, to be worn by the poor of the ſeveral pariſhes. The badges to be marked with the initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, &c. and to be well ſewed and faſtened on the right and left ſhoulder of the outward garment of each of the ſaid poor, by which they might be diſtinguiſhed. And that none of the ſaid poor ſhould go out of their own pariſh to beg alms; whereof the beadles were to take care.

* See a Treatiſe on this ſubject, Vol. XI. p. 77.

His Grace, the Lord Archbiſhop, did accordingly give his directions to the clergy; which, however, have proved wholly ineffectual, by the fraud, perverſeneſs, or pride of the ſaid poor, ſeveral of them openly proteſting they will never ſubmit to wear the ſaid badges, and of thoſe who received them, almoſt every one keep them in their pockets, or hang them on a ſtring about their necks, or faſten them only with a pin, or wear them under their coats, not to be ſeen. By which means the whole deſign is eluded, ſo that a man may walk from one end of the town to the other, without ſeeing one beggar regularly badged, and in ſuch great numbers, that they are a mighty nuſance to the public, moſt of them being foreigners.

It is therefore propoſed, That his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop would pleaſe to call the clergy of the city together, and renew his directions and exhortations to them, to put this affair of badges effectually in practice, by ſuch methods as his Grace and they ſhall agree upon. And I think it would be highly neceſſary, that ſome paper ſhould be paſted up, in ſeveral proper parts of the city, ſignifying this order, and exhorting all people to give no alms ex-

cept to thoſe poor who are regularly badged, and only while they are within the precincts of their own pariſhes. And, if ſomething like this were delivered by the miniſters, in the reading-deſk, two or three Lord's-days ſucceſſively, it would ſtill be of further uſe to put this matter upon a right foot. And that all who offend againſt this regulation be treated as vagabonds and ſturdy beggars.

Deanry-houſe,
Sept. 26, 1726.

CONSIDERATIONS

ABOUT

MAINTAINING THE POOR.

WE have been amuſed, for at leaſt thirty years paſt, with numberleſs ſchemes in writing and diſcourſe, both in and out of parliament, for maintaining the poor, and ſetting them to work, eſpecially in this city; moſt of which were idle, indigeſted, or viſionary, and all of them ineffectual, as it hath plainly appeared by the conſequences. Many of thoſe projectors were ſo ſtupid, that they drew a parallel from Holland and England, to be ſettled in Ireland; that is to ſay, from two countries with full freedom and encouragement for trade, to a third where all kind of trade is cramped, and the moſt beneficial parts are entirely taken away. But the perpetual infelicity of falſe and fooliſh reaſoning, as well as proceeding and acting upon it, ſeems to be fatal to this country.

For my own part, who have much converſed with thoſe folks who call themſelves

ſelves Merchants, I do not remember to have met with a more ignorant and wrong-thinking race of people in the very firſt rudiments of trade; which, however, was not ſo much owing to their want of capacity, as to the crazy conſtitution of this kingdom, where pedlars are better qualified to thrive than the wiſeſt merchants. I could fill a volume with only ſetting down a liſt of the public abſurdities, by which this kingdom hath ſuffered within the compaſs of my own memory, ſuch as could not be believed of any nation, among whom folly was not eſtabliſhed as a law. I cannot forbear inſtancing a few of theſe, becauſe it may be of ſome uſe to thoſe who ſhall have it in their power to be more cautious for the future.

The firſt was the building of the barracks, whereof I have ſeen above one half, and have heard enough of the reſt, to affirm that the public hath been cheated of at leaſt two thirds of the money raiſed for that uſe by the plain fraud of the undertakers.

Another was the management of the money raiſed for the Palatines; when, inſtead of employing that great ſum in purchaſing

chaſing lands in ſome remote and cheap part of the kingdom, and there planting thoſe people as a colony, the whole end was utterly defeated.

A third is the inſurance-office againſt fire, by which ſeveral thouſand pounds are yearly remitted to England (a trifle it ſeems we can eaſily ſpare), and will gradually encreaſe until it comes to a good national tax. For the ſociety-marks upon our houſes (under which might properly be written, *The Lord have mercy upon us*) ſpread faſter and farther than the * colony of frogs. I have, for above twenty years paſt, given warning ſeveral thouſand times, to

* This ſimilitude, which is certainly the fineſt that could poſſibly have been uſed upon this occaſion, ſeems to require a ſhort explication. About the beginning of this current century, Doctor Gwythers, a phyſician and Fellow of the Univerſity of Dublin, brought over with him a parcel of frogs from England to Ireland, in order to propagate the ſpecies in that kingdom, and threw them into the ditches of the Univerſity-park; but they all periſhed. Whereupon he ſent to England for ſome bottles of the frog-ſpawn, which he threw into thoſe ditches, by which means the ſpecies of frogs was propagated in that kingdom. However, their number was ſo ſmall in the year 1720, that a frog was no where to be ſeen in Ireland, except in the neighbourhood of the Univerſity-park: But, within ſix or ſeven years after, they ſpread thirty, forty, and fifty miles over the country; and ſo at laſt, by degrees, over the whole nation.

many ſubſtantial people, and to ſuch who are acquainted with Lords and Squires, and the like great folks, (to any of whom I have not the honour to be known:) I mentioned my daily fears, leſt our watchful friends in England might take this buſineſs out of our hands; and how eaſy it would be to prevent that evil, by erecting a ſociety of perſons who had good eſtates, ſuch, for inſtance, as that noble knot of bankers under the ſtyle of Swift and Company. But now we are become tributary to England, not only for materials to light our own fires; but for engines to put them out; to which, if hearth-money be added, (repealed in England as a grievance) we have the honour to pay three taxes for fire.

A fourth was the knavery of thoſe merchants, or linen-manufacturers, or both; when, upon occaſion of the plague at Marſeilles, we had a fair opportunity of getting into our hands the whole linen-trade with Spain; but the commodity was ſo bad, and held at ſo high a rate, that almoſt the whole cargo was returned, and the ſmall remainder ſold below the prime

So many other particulars of the ſame nature crowd into my thoughts, that I am forced to ſtop, and the rather becauſe they are not very proper for my ſubject, to which I ſhall now return.

Among all the ſchemes for maintaining the poor of the city, and ſetting them to work, the leaſt weight hath been laid upon that ſingle point, which is of greateſt importance; I mean that of keeping foreign beggars from ſwarming hither out of every part of the country; for, until this be brought to paſs effectually, all our wiſe reaſonings and proceedings upon them will be vain and ridiculous.

The prodigious number of beggars throughout this kingdom, in proportion to ſo ſmall a number of people, is owing to many reaſons: To the lazineſs of the natives; the want of work to employ them; the enormous rents paid by cottagers for their miſerable cabbins and potatoe-plots; their early marriages, without the leaſt proſpect of eſtabliſhment; the ruin of agriculture, whereby ſuch vaſt numbers are hindred from providing their own bread, and have no money to purchaſe it; the mortal damp upon all kinds of trade,

and many other circumſtances too tedious or invidious to mention.

And to the ſame cauſes we owe the perpetual concourſe of foreign beggars to this town, the country landlords giving all aſſiſtance, except money and victuals, to drive from their eſtates thoſe miſerable creatures they have undone.

It was a general complaint againſt the poor-houſe, under its former governors, that the number of poor in this city did not leſſen by taking three hundred into the houſe, and all of them recommended under the miniſter and church-warden's hands of the ſeveral pariſhes; and this complaint muſt ſtill continue, although the poor-houſe ſhould be enlarged to maintain three thouſand, or even double that number.

The revenues of the poor-houſe, as it is now eſtabliſhed, amount to about two thouſand pounds a year; whereof, two hundred allowed for officers, and one hundred for repairs, the remaining ſeventeen hundred, at four pounds a head, will ſupport four hundred and twenty-five perſons. This is a favourable allowance, conſidering that I ſubtract nothing for the diet of thoſe officers, and for wear and tare of fur-

niture; and, if every one of theſe collegiates ſhould be ſet to work, it is agreed they will not be able to gain by their labour above one fourth part of their maintenance.

At the ſame time the oratorial part of theſe gentlemen ſeldom vouchſafe to mention fewer than fifteen hundred, or two thouſand people, to be maintained in this hoſpital, without troubling their heads about the fund, * * * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

TO HIS GRACE

WILLIAM,

LORD ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN, &c.

The humble Repreſentation of the CLERGY of the City of DUBLIN.

MY LORD, Jan. 1724.

YOUR Grace having been pleaſed to communicate to us a certain brief, by letters-patents, for the relief of one Charles M'Carthy, whoſe houſe in College-green, Dublin, was burnt by an accidental fire; and having deſired us to conſider of the ſaid brief, and give our opinions thereof to your Grace;

We the clergy of the city of Dublin, in compliance with your Grace's deſire, and with great acknowledgments for your paternal tenderneſs towards us, having maturely conſidered the ſaid brief by letters patents, compared the ſeveral parts of it with what is enjoined us by the rubric, (which is confirmed by act of parliament) and conſulted perſons ſkilled in the laws of the church; do, in the names of our-

ſelves

ſelves and of the reſt of our brethren, the clergy of the dioceſs of Dublin, moſt humbly repreſent to your Grace:

Firſt, That, by this brief, your Grace is required and commanded, to recommend and command all the parſons, vicars, *&c.* to advance ſo great an act of charity.

We ſhall not preſume to determine how far your Grace may be commanded by the ſaid brief; but we humbly conceive that the clergy of your dioceſs cannot, by any law now in being, be commanded by your Grace to advance the ſaid act of charity, any other ways than by reading the ſaid brief in our ſeveral churches, as preſcribed by the rubric.

Secondly, Whereas it is ſaid in the ſaid brief, that the parſon, vicars, *&c.* upon the firſt Lord's-day, or opportunity after the receipt of the copy of the ſaid brief, ſhall, deliberately and affectionately, publiſh and declare the tenor thereof to his Majeſty's ſubjects, and earneſtly perſuade, exhort, and ſtir them up to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of the ſaid ſufferer;

We do not comprehend what is meant by the word *opportunity*. We never do preach upon any day except the Lord's-day, or

ſome ſolemn days legally appointed; neither is it poſſible for the ſtrongeſt conſtitution among us to obey this command (which includes no leſs than a whole ſermon) upon any other opportunity than when our people are met together in the church; and to perform this work in every houſe where the pariſhes are very populous, conſiſting ſometimes here in town of 900 or 1000 houſes, would take up the ſpace of a year, although we ſhould preach in two families every day; and almoſt as much time in the country, where the pariſhes are of large extent, the roads bad, and the people too poor to receive us, and give charity at once.

But, if it be meant that theſe exhortations are commanded to be made in the church, upon the Lord's-day, we are humbly of opinion, that it is left to the diſcretion of the clergy, to chuſe what ſubjects they think moſt proper to preach on, and at what times; and, if they preach either falſe doctrine or ſeditious principles, they are liable to be puniſhed.

It may poſſibly happen that the ſufferer recommended may be a perſon not deſerving the favour intended by the brief; in which caſe no miniſter, who knows the

ſufferer

ſufferer to be an undeſerving perſon, can with a ſafe conſcience deliberately and affectionately publiſh the brief, much leſs earneſtly perſuade, exhort, and ſtir up the people to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of ſuch a ſufferer *.

Thirdly, Whereas in the ſaid brief the miniſters and curates are required, on the week-days next after the Lord's-day when the brief was read, to go from houſe to houſe, with their church-wardens, to aſk and receive from all perſons the ſaid charity: We cannot but obſerve here, that the ſaid miniſters are directly made collectors of the ſaid charity in conjunction with the church-wardens; which however, we preſume, was not intended, as being againſt all law and precedent: And therefore, we apprehend, there may be ſome inconſiſtency, which leaves us at a loſs how to proceed. For, in the next paragraph, the miniſters and curates are only required, where they conveniently can, to accompany the church-wardens, or procure ſome other of the chief inhabitants,

* This M'Carthy's houſe was burnt in the month of Auguſt 1723, and the univerſal opinion of mankind was, that M'Carthy himſelf was the perſon who had ſet fire to the houſe.

to do the ſame. And, in a following paragraph, the whole work ſeems left entirely to the church-wardens, who are required to uſe their utmoſt diligence to gather and collect the ſaid charity, and to pay the ſame, in ten days after, to the parſon, vicar, *&c.*

In anſwer to this, we do repreſent to your Grace our humble opinion, that neither we nor our church-wardens can be legally commanded or required to go from houſe to houſe to receive the ſaid charity; becauſe your Grace hath informed us in your order, at your viſitation *An. Dom.* 1712, that neither we nor our church-wardens are bound to make any collections for the poor, ſave in the church; which alſo appears plainly by the rubric, that appoints both time and place, as your Grace hath obſerved in your ſaid order.

We do likewiſe aſſure your Grace, that it is not in our power to procure ſome of the chief inhabitants of our pariſhes to accompany the church-wardens from houſe to houſe in theſe collections: And we have reaſon to believe, that ſuch a propoſal, made to our chief inhabitants (particularly in this city, where our chief inhabitants are often peers of the land) would

would be received in a manner very little to our own ſatisfaction, or to the advantage of the ſaid collections.

Fourthly, The brief doth will, require, and command the biſhops, and all other dignitaries of the church, that they make their contributions diſtinctly, to be returned in the ſeveral provinces to the ſeveral archbiſhops of the ſame.

Upon which we take leave to obſerve, that the terms of expreſſion here are of the ſtrongeſt kind, and in a point that may ſubject the ſaid dignitaries (for we ſhall ſay nothing of the biſhops) to great inconveniencies.

The ſaid dignitaries are here willed, required, and commanded to make their contributions diſtinctly; by which it ſhould ſeem that they are abſolutely commanded to make contributions (for the word *diſtinctly* is but a circumſtance), and may be underſtood not very agreeable to a voluntary, chearful contribution. And therefore, if any biſhop or dignitary ſhould refuſe to make his contribution, (perhaps for very good reaſons) he may be thought to incur the crime of diſobedience to his Majeſty, which all good ſubjects abhor,

when

when ſuch a command is according to law.

Moſt dignities of this kingdom conſiſt only of parochial tythes, and the dignitaries are miniſters of pariſhes. A doubt may therefore ariſe, whether the ſaid dignitaries are willed, required, and commanded, to make their contributions in both capacities, diſtinctly as dignitaries, and jointly as parſons or vicars.

Many dignities in this kingdom are the pooreſt kind of benefices; and it ſhould ſeem hard to put poor dignitaries under the neceſſity either of making greater contributions than they can afford, or of expoſing themſelves to the cenſure of wanting charity, by making their contributions public.

Our Saviour commands us, in works of charity, to *let not our left hand know what our right hand doeth*; which cannot well conſiſt with our being willed, required, and commanded by any earthly power, where no law is preſcribed, to publiſh our charity to the world, if we have a mind to conceal it.

Fifthly, Whereas it is ſaid in the ſaid brief, that the parſon, vicar, *&c.* of every pariſh, ſhall, in ſix days after the receipt

of the ſaid charity, return it to his reſpective chancellor, *&c.* This may be a great grievance, hazard, and expence to the ſaid parſon, in remote and deſolate parts of the country, where often an honeſt meſſenger (if ſuch a one can be got) muſt be hired to travel forty or fifty miles going and coming; which will probably coſt more than the value of the contribution he carries with him. And this charge, if briefs ſhould happen to be frequent, would be enough to undo many a poor clergyman in the kingdom.

Sixthly, We obſerve in the ſaid brief, that the provoſt and fellows of the univerſity, judges, officers of the courts, and profeſſors of laws common and civil, are neither willed, required, nor commanded to make their contributions; but that ſo good a work is only recommended to them. Whereas we conceive, that all his Majeſty's ſubjects are equally obliged, with or without his Majeſty's commands, to promote works of charity according to their power; and that the clergy, in their eccleſiaſtical capacity, are only liable to ſuch commands as the rubric, or any other law ſhall enjoin, being born to the ſame privi-

leges of freedom with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects.

We cannot but obſerve to your Grace, that, in the Engliſh act of the fourth year of Queen Anne, for the better collecting charity-money on briefs by letters patent, *&c.* the miniſters are obliged only to read the briefs in their churches, without any particular exhortations; neither are they commanded to go from houſe to houſe with the church-wardens, nor to ſend the money collected to their reſpective chancellors, but pay it to the undertaker or agent of the ſufferer. So that, we humbly hope, the clergy of this kingdom ſhall not, without any law in being, be put to greater hardſhips in this caſe than their brethren in England, where the legiſlature, intending to prevent the abuſes in collecting charity-money on briefs, did not think fit to put the clergy under any of thoſe difficulties we now complain of, in the preſent brief by letters patent, for the relief of Charles M'Carthy aforeſaid.

The collections upon the Lord's-day are the principal ſupport of our own numerous poor in our ſeveral pariſhes; and therefore every ſingle brief, with the benefit of a full collection over the whole king-

dom,

dom, muſt deprive ſeveral thouſands of poor of their weekly maintenance, for the ſake only of one perſon, who often becomes a ſufferer by his own folly or negligence, and is ſure to overvalue his loſſes double or treble: So that, if this precedent be followed, as it certainly will if the preſent brief ſhould ſucceed, we may probably have a new brief every week; and thus, for the advantage of fifty-two perſons, whereof not one in ten is deſerving, and for the intereſt of a dozen dextrous clerks and ſecretaries, the whole poor in the kingdom will be likely to ſtarve.

We are credibly informed, that neither the officers of the Lord Primate, in preparing the report of his Grace's opinion, nor thoſe of the great-ſeal, in paſſing the patent for briefs, will remit any of their fees, both which do amount to a conſiderable ſum: And thus the good intentions of well-diſpoſed people are in a great meaſure diſappointed, a large part of their charity being anticipated, and alienated by fees and gratuities.

Laſtly, We cannot but repreſent to your Grace our great concern and grief, to ſee the pains and labour of our churchwardens ſo much encreaſed, by the injunc-

tions and commands put upon them in this brief, to the great diſadvantage of the clergy and the people, as well as to their own trouble, damage, and loſs of time, to which great additions have been already made, by laws appointing them to collect the taxes for the watch and the poor-houſe, which they bear with great unwillingneſs; and, if they ſhall find themſelves further laden with ſuch briefs as this of M'Carthy, it will prove ſo great a diſcouragement, that we ſhall never be able to provide honeſt and ſufficient perſons for that weighty office of church-warden, ſo neceſſary to the laity as well as the clergy, in all things that relate to the order and regulation of pariſhes.

Upon all theſe conſiderations, we humbly hope that your Grace, of whoſe fatherly care, vigilance, and tenderneſs, we have had ſo many and great inſtances, will repreſent our caſe to his Moſt Excellent Majeſty, or to the Chief Governor in this kingdom, in ſuch a manner, that we may be neither under the neceſſity of declining his Majeſty's commands in his letters patent, or of taking new and grievous burthens upon ourſelves and our church-wardens, to which neither the rubric nor any other law in force oblige us to ſubmit.

AN

ANSWER

TO

BICKERSTAFF.

Some Reflections upon Mr. Bickerſtaff's Predictions for the Year M DCC VIII *.

By a Person of Quality.

I Have not obſerved, for ſome years paſt, any inſignificant paper to have made more noiſe, or be more greedily bought, than that of theſe predictions. They are the wonder of the common people, an amuſement for the better ſort, and a jeſt only to the wiſe; yet, among theſe laſt, I have heard ſome very much in doubt, whether the author meant to deceive others, or is deceived himſelf. Whoever he was, he ſeems to have with great art adjuſted his paper both to pleaſe the rabble and to entertain perſons of condition. The writer is, without queſtion, a gentleman of wit and learning, although the piece ſeems haſtily written in a ſudden frolic,

* See Vol. III. p. 256.

with

with the ſcornful thought of the pleaſure he will have, in putting this great town into a wonderment about nothing: Nor do I doubt but he and his friends in the ſecret, laugh often and plentifully in a corner, to reflect how many hundred thouſand fools they have already made. And he has them faſt for ſome time: For ſo they are like to continue until his prophecies begin to fail in the events. Nay, it is a great queſtion whether the miſcarriage of the two or three firſt will ſo entirely undeceive people, as to hinder them from expecting the accompliſhing of the reſt. I doubt not but ſome thouſands of theſe papers are carefully preſerved by as many perſons, to confront with the events, and try whether the aſtrologer exactly keeps the day and the hour. And theſe I take to be Mr. Bickerſtaff's choiceſt cullies, for whoſe ſake chiefly he writ his amuſement. Meanwhile he has ſeven weeks good, during which time the world is to be kept in ſuſpenſe; for it is ſo long before the almanack-maker is to die, which is the firſt prediction: And, if that fellow happens to be a ſplenetic viſionary fop, or has any faith in his own art, the propheſy may punctually come to paſs by very natural

means.

means. As a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ill-uſed by a mercer in town, writ him a letter in an unknown hand, to give him notice that care had been taken to convey a ſlow poiſon into his drink, which would infallibly kill him in a month; after which the man began in earneſt to languiſh and decay, by the mere ſtrength of imagination, and would certainly have died, if care had not been taken to undeceive him before the jeſt went too far. The like effect upon Partridge would wonderfully raiſe Mr. Bickerſtaff's reputation for a fortnight longer, until we could hear from France whether the Cardinal de Noailles were dead or alive upon the fourth of April, which is the ſecond of his predictions.

For a piece ſo careleſsly written, the obſervations upon aſtrology are reaſonable and pertinent, the remarks juſt; and, as the paper is partly deſigned, in my opinion, for a ſatire upon the credulity of the vulgar, and that idle itch of peeping into futurities, ſo it is no more than what we all of us deſerve. And, ſince we muſt be teazed with perpetual hawkers of *ſtrange and wonderful* things, I am glad to ſee a man of ſenſe find leiſure and humour

to take up the trade for his own and our diverſion. To ſpeak in the town-phraſe, it is a *bite*; he has fully had his jeſt, and may be ſatisfied.

I very much approve the ſerious air he gives himſelf in his introduction and concluſion, which has gone far to give ſome people of no mean rank an opinion that the author believes himſelf. He tells us, "He places the whole credit of his art "on the truth of theſe predictions, and "will be content to be hooted by Partridge "and the reſt for a cheat, if he fails in "any one particular;" with ſeveral other ſtrains of the ſame kind, wherein I perfectly believe him; and that he is very indifferent whether *Iſaac Bickerſtaff* be a *mark of infamy* or not. But it ſeems, although he has joined an odd ſirname to no very common Chriſtian one, that in this large town there is a man found to own both the names, although, I believe, not the paper.

I believe it is no ſmall mortification to this gentleman aſtrologer, as well as his bookſeller, to find their piece, which they ſent out in a tolerable print and paper, immediately ſeized on by three or four interloping printers of Grubſtreet, the title ſtuff-

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ed with an abſtract of the whole matter, together with the ſtandard epithets of *ſtrange and wonderful*, the price brought down a full half, which was but a penny in its prime, and bawled about by hawkers of the inferior claſs, with the concluding cadence of *A halfpenny apiece.* But *ſic cecidit Phaeton:* And, to comfort him a little, this production of mine will have the ſame fate: To-morrow will my ears be grated by the *little boys* and *wenches in ſtraw-hats*, and I muſt an hundred times undergo the mortification to have my own work offered me to ſale at an under-value. Then, which is a great deal worſe, my acquaintance in the coffee-houſe will aſk me whether I have ſeen the Anſwer to 'Squire Bickerſtaff's predictions, and whether I know the puppy that writ it: And how to keep a man's countenance in ſuch a juncture is no eaſy point of conduct. When, in this caſe, you ſee a man ſhy either in praiſing or condemning, ready to turn off the diſcourſe to another ſubject, ſtanding as little in the light as he can to hide his bluſhing, pretending to ſneeze or take ſnuff, or go off as if ſudden buſineſs called him; then ply him cloſe, obſerve his looks narrowly, ſee whether his ſpeech

be

be conſtrained or affected, then charge him ſuddenly, or whiſper and ſmile, and you will ſoon diſcover whether he be guilty. Although this ſeem not to the purpoſe I am diſcourſing on, yet I think it to be ſo; for I am much deceived if I do not know the true author of Bickerſtaff's Predictions, and did not meet with him ſome days ago in a coffee-houſe at Covent-Garden.

As to the matter of the Predictions themſelves, I ſhall not enter upon the examination of them; but think it very incumbent upon the learned Mr. Partridge to take them into his conſideration, and lay as many errors in aſtrology as poſſible to Mr. Bickerſtaff's account. He may juſtly, I think, challenge the 'Squire to publiſh the calculation he has made of Partridge's nativity, by the credit of which he ſo determinately pronounces the time and the manner of his death; and Mr. Bickerſtaff can do no leſs, in honour, than give Mr. Partridge the ſame advantage of calculating *his*, by ſending him an account of the time and place of his birth, with other particulars neceſſary for ſuch a work. By which, no doubt, the learned world will be engaged in the diſpute, and take part

on each ſide according as they are inclined.

I ſhould likewiſe adviſe Mr. Partridge to enquire, why Mr. Bickerſtaff does not ſo much as offer at one prediction to be fulfilled until two months after the time of publiſhing his paper? This looks a little ſuſpicious, as if he were deſirous to keep the world in play as long as he decently could, elſe it were hard he could not afford us one prediction between this and the 29th of March; which is not ſo fair dealing as we have, even from Mr. Partridge and his brethren, who give us their predictions (ſuch as they are indeed) for every month in the year.

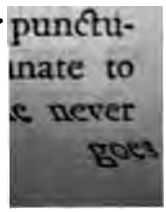
There is one paſſage in Mr. Bickerſtaff's paper that ſeems to be as high a ſtrain of aſſurance as I have any where met with. It is that prediction for the month of June which relates to the French Prophets here in town; where he tells us, "They will "utterly diſperſe, by ſeeing the time come "wherein their prophecies ſhould be ful-"filled, and then finding themſelves de-"ceived by contrary events." Upon which he adds, with great reaſon, "his wonder "how any deceiver can be ſo weak, to "foretel things near at hand, when a very

"few

" few months muſt diſcover the impoſture " to all the world." This is ſpoken with a great deal of affected unconcernedneſs, as if he would have us think himſelf to be not under the leaſt apprehenſion, that the ſame in two months will be his own caſe. With reſpect to the gentleman, I do not remember to have heard of ſo refined and pleaſant a piece of impudence, which I hope the author will not reſent as an uncivil word, becauſe I am ſure I enter into his taſte, and take it as he meant it. However, he half deſerves a reprimand for writing with ſo much ſcorn and contempt for the underſtandings of the majority.

For the month of July, he tells us of " a " general, who, by a glorious action, will " recover the reputation he loſt by former " misfortunes." This is commonly underſtood to be Lord Galloway; who, if he be already dead, as ſome news-papers have it, Mr. Bickerſtaff has made a trip. But this I do not much inſiſt on; for it is hard if *another general* cannot be found under the *ſame circumſtances*, to whom this prediction may be as well applied.

The French King's death is very punctually related; that to make him die



goes at that ſeaſon of the year, as I obſerved myſelf during three years I paſſed in that kingdom: And, diſcourſing ſome months ago with Monſieur Tallard, about the French court, I find that king never goes to Marli for any time, but about the ſeaſon of hunting there, which is not till Auguſt. So that here was an unlucky ſlip of Mr. Bickerſtaff, for want of foreign education.

He concludes with reſuming his promiſe, of publiſhing entire predictions for the next year; of which the other aſtrologers need not be in very much pain. I ſuppoſe we ſhall have them much about the ſame time with *The General Hiſtory of Ears*. I believe we have done with him for ever in this kind; and, though I am no aſtrologer, may venture to propheſy that Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq; is now dead, and died juſt at the time his Predictions were ready for the preſs: That he dropt out of the clouds about nine days ago, and, in about four hours after, mounted up thither again like a vapour; and will, one day or other, perhaps deſcend a ſecond time, when he has ſome new, agreeable, or amuſing whimſy to paſs upon the town; wherein,

it

it is very probable, he will ſucceed as often as he is diſpoſed to try the experiment, that is, as long as he can preſerve a thorough contempt for his own time and other people's underſtandings, and is reſolved not to laugh cheaper than at the expence of a million of people.

HINTS

ON

GOOD MANNERS*.

GOOD MANNERS is the art of making every reaſonable perſon in the company eaſy, and to be eaſy ourſelves.

What paſſeth for good-manners in the world, generally produceth quite contrary effects.

Many perſons of both ſexes, whom I have known, and who paſſed for well-bred in their own and the world's opinion, are the moſt troubleſome in company to others and themſelves.

Nothing is ſo great an inſtance of ill-manners as flattery. If you flatter all the company, you pleaſe none; if you flatter only one or two, you affront the reſt.

Flattery is the worſt, and falſeſt way of ſhewing our eſteem.

Where company meets, I am confident the few reaſonable perſons are every minute tempted to curſe the man or woman

* See Vol. XIV. p. 213.

among

among them, who endeavours to be moſt diſtinguiſhed for their good-manners.

A man of ſenſe would rather faſt till night, than dine at ſome tables, where the lady of the houſe is poſſeſſed with good-manners; uneaſineſs, preſſing to eat, teazing with civility; leſs practiſed in England than here.

Courts are the worſt of all ſchools to teach good-manners.

A courtly bow, or gait, or dreſs, are no part of good-manners. And therefore every man of good underſtanding is capable of being well-bred upon any occaſion.

To ſpeak in ſuch a manner as may poſſibly offend any reaſonable perſon in company, is the higheſt inſtance of ill-manners.

Good-manners chiefly conſiſt in action, not in words. Modeſty and humility the chief ingredients.

I have known the court of England under four reigns, the two laſt but for a ſhort time; and, whatever good-manners or politeneſs I obſerved in any of them, was not of the court-growth, but imported. For a courtier by trade, as gentlemen-uſhers, bedchamber-women, maids of honour, *

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Of good manners as to converſation.

Men of wit and good underſtanding, as well as breeding, are ſometimes deceived, and give offence by conceiving a better opinion of thoſe with whom they converſe than they ought to do. Thus I have often known the moſt innocent raillery, and even of that kind which was meant for praiſe, to be miſtaken for abuſe and reflection.

Of gibing, and how gibers ought to ſuffer.

Of arguers, perpetual contradictors, long talkers, who are abſent in company, interrupters, not liſteners, loud laughers.

Of thoſe men and women whoſe face is ever in a ſmile, talk ever with a ſmile, condole with a ſmile, *&c.*

Argument, as uſually managed, is the worſt ſort of converſation; as it is generally in books the worſt ſort of reading.

Good converſation is not to be expected in much company, becauſe few liſten, and there is continual interruption. But good or ill manners are diſcovered let the company be ever ſo large.

Perpetual aiming at wit, a very bad part of converſation. It is done to ſupport a character; It generally fails: It is a ſort of

inſult on the company, and a conſtrai upon the ſpeaker.

For a man to talk in his own trade, buſineſs, or faculty, is a great breach good manners. Divines, phyſicians, la yers, ſoldiers, particularly poets, are f quently guilty of this weakneſs. A pc conceives that the whole kingdom *

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RESOLUTIONS

WHEN

COME TO BE OLD.

Written in the Year MDCXCIX.

NOT to marry a young woman.

Not to keep young company, unleſs they really deſire it.

Not to be peeviſh, or moroſe, or ſuſpicious.

Not to ſcorn preſent ways, or wits, or faſhions, or men, or war, *&c.*

Not to be fond of children.

Not to tell the ſame ſtory over and over to the ſame people.

Not to be covetous.

Not to neglect decency, or cleanlineſs, for fear of falling into naſtineſs.

Not to be over ſevere with young people, but give allowances for their youthful follies and weakneſſes.

Not to be influenced by, or give ear to knaviſh tattling ſervants, or others.

Not to be too free of advice, nor trouble any but thoſe who deſire it.

To deſire ſome good friends to inform me *which of* theſe reſolutions I break or

neglect, and wherein; and reform accordingly.

Not to talk much, nor of myſelf.

Not to boaſt of my former beauty, or ſtrength, or favour with ladies, *&c.*

Not to hearken to flatteries, nor conceive I can be beloved by a young woman; *de eos qui hæreditatem captant, odiſſe ac vitare.*

Not to be poſitive or opiniative.

Not to ſet up for obſerving all theſe rules, for fear I ſhould obſerve none.

LAWS

FOR THE

DEAN's SERVANTS.

DECEMBER 7th, MDCCXXXIII.

IF either of the two men-ſervants be drunk, he ſhall pay an Engliſh crown out of his wages for the ſaid offence, by giving the Dean a receipt for ſo much wages received.

When the Dean is at home, no ſervant ſhall preſume to be abſent, without giving notice to the Dean, and aſking leave; upon the forfeiture of ſixpence for every half-hour that he is abſent, to be ſtopt out of his or her board-wages.

When the Dean is abroad, no ſervant, except the woman, ſhall preſume to leave the houſe for above one half-hour; after which, for every half-hour's abſence he ſhall forfeit ſixpence: And, if the other ſervant goes out before the firſt returns, he ſhall pay five ſhillings out of his wages, as above.

Whatever ſervant ſhall be taken in a manifeſt lie, ſhall forfeit one ſhilling out of his or her board-wages.

When the Dean goes about the houſe, or out-houſes, or garden, or to Naboth's Vineyard, whatever things he finds out of order, by neglect of any ſervant under whoſe care it was, that ſervant ſhall forfeit ſixpence, and ſee to get it mended as ſoon as poſſible, or ſuffer more forfeitures at the Dean's diſcretion.

If two ſervants be abroad together when the Dean is from home, and the fact be concealed from the Dean, the concealer ſhall forfeit two crowns out of his or her wages, as above.

If, in waiting at table, the two ſervants be out of the room together, without orders, the laſt who went out ſhall forfeit threepence out of his board-wages.

The woman may go out when the Dean is abroad for one hour, but no longer, under the ſame penalty with the men: But provided the two men-ſervants keep the houſe until ſhe returns; otherwiſe, either of the ſervants, who goes out before her return, ſhall forfeit a crown out of his wages, as above.

Whatever other laws the Dean ſhall think fit to make, at any time to come, for the government of his ſervants, and forfeitures for neglect or diſobedience, all the ſervants ſhall be bound to ſubmit to.

Whatever other ſervant, except the woman, ſhall preſume to be drunk, the other two ſervants ſhall inform the Dean thereof, under pain of forfeiting two crowns out of his or her wages, beſides the forfeiture of a crown from the ſaid ſervant who was drunk.

A QUAKER's LETTER from PHILADELPHIA.

TO JONATHAN SWIFT IN DUBLIN.

Chilad, March 29, 1729.

Friend Jonathan Swift,

HAVING been often agreeably amuſed by thy Tale, *&c. &c.* and being now loading a ſmall ſhip for Dublin, I have ſent thee a gammon, the product of the wilds of America; which perhaps may not be unacceptable at thy table, ſince it is only deſigned to let thee know that thy wit and parts are in eſteem at this diſtance from the place of thy reſidence. Thee need aſk no queſtions who this comes from, ſince I am a perfect ſtranger to thee.

CHARACTER

OF

MRS. HOWARD.

Written in the Year MDCCXXVII.

I SHALL ſay nothing of her wit or beauty, which are allowed by all perſons who can judge of either, when they hear or ſee her. Beſides, beauty being tranſient, and a trifle, cannot juſtly make part of a character. And I leave others to celebrate her wit, becauſe it will be of no uſe in that part of her character which I intend to draw. Neither ſhall I relate any part of her hiſtory; further than, that ſhe went, in the prime of her youth, to the Court of Hanover with her huſband, and became of the Bed-chamber to the preſent Princeſs of Wales, living in expectation of the Queen's * death: Upon which event ſhe came over with her Miſtreſs, and hath ever ſince continued in her ſervice; where, from the attendance daily paid her by the miniſters, and all expectants, ſhe is reckoned much the greateſt favourite of the

* Queen Anne.

court at Leiceſter-houſe: A ſituation which ſhe hath long affected to deſire that it might not be believed.

There is no politician who more carefully watches the motions and diſpoſitions of things and perſons at St. James's, nor can form his language with a more imperceptible dexterity to the preſent poſture of a court, or more early foreſee what ſtyle may be proper upon any approaching juncture of affairs, whereof ſhe can gather early intelligence without aſking it, and often when even thoſe from whom ſhe hath it are not ſenſible that they are giving it to her, but equally with others admire her ſagacity. Sir Robert Walpole and ſhe both think they underſtand each other, and are both equally miſtaken.

With perſons where ſhe is to manage, ſhe is very dextrous in that point of ſkill which the French call *tâter le pavè*; with others ſhe is a great vindicator of all preſent proceedings, but in ſuch a manner, as if ſhe were under no concern further than her own conviction, and wondering how any body can think otherwiſe. And the danger is, that ſhe may come in time to believe herſelf; which, under a change of princes and a great addition of credit, might

might have bad conſequences. She is a moſt unconſcionable dealer; for, in return of a few good words, which ſhe gives to her lords and gentlemen daily waiters before their faces, ſhe gets ten thouſand from them behind her back, which are of real ſervice to her character. The credit ſhe hath is managed with the utmoſt thrift; and, whenever ſhe employs it, which is very rarely, it is only upon ſuch occaſions where ſhe is ſure to get much more than ſhe ſpends. For inſtance, ſhe would readily preſs Sir Robert Walpole to do ſome favour for Colonel Churchill, or Doddington; the Prince, for a mark of grace to Mr. Schutz; and the Princeſs, to be kind to Mrs. Clayton. She ſometimes falls into the general miſtake of all courtiers, which is that of not ſuiting her talents to the abilities of others, but thinking thoſe ſhe deals with to have leſs art than they really poſſeſs; ſo that ſhe may poſſibly be deceived when ſhe thinks ſhe deceiveth.

In all offices of life, except thoſe of a courtier, ſhe acts with juſtice, generoſity, and truth. She is ready to do good as a private perſon, and I would almoſt think in charity that ſhe will not do harm as a

courtier, unleſs to pleaſe thoſe in chief power.

In religion ſhe is at leaſt a Latitudinarian, being not an enemy to books written by the Free-thinkers; and herein ſhe is the more blameable, becauſe ſhe hath too much morality to ſtand in need of them, requiring only a due degree of faith for putting her in the road to ſalvation. I ſpeak this of her as a private Lady, not as a Court-favourite; for, in the latter capacity, ſhe can ſhew neither faith nor works.

If ſhe had never ſeen a court, it is not impoſſible that ſhe might have been a friend.

She abounds in good words and expreſſions of good wiſhes, and will concert a hundred ſchemes for the ſervice of thoſe whom ſhe would be thought to favour: Schemes that ſometimes ariſe from them, and ſometimes from herſelf; although, at the ſame time, ſhe very well knows them to be without the leaſt probability of ſucceeding. But, to do her juſtice, ſhe never feeds or deceives any perſon with promiſes, where ſhe doth not at the ſame time intend a degree of ſincerity.

She is, upon the whole, an excellent companion for men of the beſt accom-

pliſhments, who have nothing to deſire or expect.

What part ſhe may act hereafter in a larger ſphere, as Lady of the Bed-chamber to a great Q—n, (upon ſuppoſing the death of his preſent Majeſty *, and of the Earl of Suffolk, to whoſe title her huſband ſucceeds) and in high eſteem with a K—g, neither ſhe nor I can foretel. My own opinion is natural and obvious, that her talents as a courtier will ſpread, enlarge, and multiply to ſuch a degree, that her private virtues, for want of room and time to operate, will be laid up clean (like clothes in a cheſt), to be uſed and put on, whenever ſatiety, or ſome reverſe of fortune, or encreaſe of ill health, (to which laſt ſhe is ſubject) ſhall diſpoſe her to retire. In the mean-time, it will be her wiſdom to take care that they may not be tarniſhed or moth-eaten, for want of airing and turning at leaſt once a year.

* George the Firſt.

CHARACTER

OF

DOCTOR SHERIDAN.

Written in the Year MDCCXXXVIII.

DOCTOR THOMAS SHERIDAN died at Rathfarnam the tenth of October 1738, at three of the clock in the afternoon: His diſeaſes were a dropſy and aſthma. He was doubtleſs the beſt inſtructor of youth in theſe kingdoms, or perhaps in Europe; and as great a maſter of the Greek and Roman languages. He had a very fruitful invention, and a talent for poetry. His Engliſh verſes were full of wit and humour, but neither his proſe nor verſe ſufficiently correct: However, he would readily ſubmit to any friend who had a true taſte in proſe or verſe. He hath left behind him a very great collection, in ſeveral volumes, of ſtories, humorous, witty, wiſe, or ſome way uſeful, gathered from a vaſt number of Greek, Roman, Italian, Spaniſh, French, and Engliſh writers. I believe I may have ſeen about thirty, larg

arge enough to make as many moderate ooks in octavo. But, among thoſe extracts, here were many not worth regard; for ve in ſix, at leaſt, were of little uſe or entertainment. He was (as it is frequently he caſe in men of wit and learning) what he French call a *Dupe*, and in a very high legree. The greateſt dunce of a tradeſman could impoſe upon him, for he was altogether ignorant in worldly management. His chief ſhining quality was that of a ſchool-maſter; here he ſhone in his proper element. He had ſo much ſkill and practice in the phyſiognomy of boys, that he rarely miſtook at the firſt view. His ſcholars loved and feared him. He often rather choſe to ſhame the ſtupid, but puniſhed the idle, and expoſed them to all the lads, which was more ſevere than caſhing. Among the gentlemen in this kingdom who have any ſhare of education, the ſcholars of Dr. Sheridan infinitely excel, in number and knowledge, all their brethren ſent from other ſchools.

To look on the Doctor in ſome other lights, he was in many things very indiſcreet, to ſay no worſe. He acted like too many clergymen, who are in haſte to be married when very young; and from

from hence proceeded all the miſeries of his life. The portion he got proved to be juſt the reverſe of 500 *l.* for he was poorer by a thouſand: So many incumbrances of a mother-in-law, and poor relations, whom he was forced to ſupport for many years. Inſtead of breeding up his daughters to houſewifery and plain cloaths, he got them, at a great expence, to be clad like ladies who had plentiful fortunes; made them only learn to ſing and dance, to draw and deſign, to give them rich ſilks, and other fopperies; and his two eldeſt were married without his conſent, to young lads who had nothing to ſettle on them. However, he had one ſon, whom the Doctor ſent to Weſtminſter-ſchool, although he could ill afford it. The boy was there immediately taken notice of, upon examination; although a mere ſtranger, he was by pure merit elected a King's ſcholar. It is true their maintainance falls ſomething ſhort: The Doctor was then ſo poor, that he could not add fourteen pounds, to enable the boy to finiſh the year; which, if he had done, he would have been removed to a higher claſs, and, in another year, would have been ſped off (that is the phraſe) to a

Fellowſhip

Fellowſhip in Oxford or Cambridge: But the Doctor was forced to recal him to Dublin, and had friends in our univerſity to ſend him there, where he hath been choſen of the foundation; and, I think, hath gotten an exhibition, and deſigns to ſtand for a fellowſhip.

The Doctor had a good church-living, in the ſouth parts of Ireland, given him by Lord Carteret; who, being very learned himſelf, encourageth it in others. A friend of the Doctor's prevailed on his Excellency to grant it. The living was well worth 150 *l. per annum.* He changed it very ſoon for that of Dunboyn; which, by the knavery of the farmers and power of the gentlemen, fell ſo very low, that he could never get 80 *l.* He then changed that living for the free-ſchool of Cavan, where he might have lived well, in ſo cheap a country, on 80 *l.* ſalary *per annum*, beſides his ſcholars: But the air, he ſaid, was too moiſt and unwholeſome, and he could not bear the company of ſome perſons in that neighbourhood. Upon this he ſold the ſchool for about 400 *l.* ſpent the money, grew into diſeaſes, and died.

It would be very honourable, as well as juſt, in thoſe many perſons of quality and fortune, who had the advantage of being educated under Doctor Sheridan, if they would pleaſe to erect ſome decent monument over his body, in the church where it is depoſited.

THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND SOLOMON *.

Written in the Year MDCCXXIX.

HE became acquainted with a perſon diſtinguiſhed for poetical and other writings, and in an eminent ſtation, who treated him with great kindneſs on all occaſions, and he became familiar in this perſon's houſe †. In three months time, Solomon, without the leaſt provocation, writ a long poem, deſcribing that perſon's muſe to be dead, and making a funeral ſolemnity with aſſes, owls, *&c.* and gave the copy among all his acquaintance.

Solomon became acquainted with a moſt deſerving lady, an intimate friend of the above perſon ‡, who entertained him alſo as ſhe would a brother; and, upon giving him a little good advice, in the moſt decent manner, with relation to his wife, he told her, She was like other women, as bad as ſhe was, and that they were all alike: Al-

* Dr. Sheridan. † Dean Swift. ‡ Stella.

though his wife be, in every regard except gallantry, (which no creature would attempt) the moſt diſagreeable beaſt in Europe.

He lets his wife (whom he pretends to hate as ſhe deſerves) govern, inſult, and ruin him, as ſhe pleaſes. Her character is this: Her perſon is deteſtably diſagreeable; a moſt filthy ſlut; lazy, and ſlothful, and luxurious, ill-natured, envious, ſuſpicious; a ſcold, expenſive on herſelf, covetous to others: She takes thieves and whores, for cheapneſs, to be her ſervants, and turns them off every week: Poſitive, inſolent, an ignorant, prating, overweening fool; a lover of the dirtieſt, meaneſt company: An abominable tatler, affecting to be jealous of her huſband with ladies of the beſt rank and merit, and merely out of affectation for perfect vanity.

Solomon has no ill-deſign upon any perſon but himſelf, and he is the greateſt deceiver of himſelf on all occaſions.

His thoughts are ſudden, and the moſt unreaſonable always comes uppermoſt; and he conſtantly reſolves and acts upon his firſt thoughts, and then aſks advice, but never once before.

The perſon above-mentioned, whom he lampooned in three months after their acquaintance, procured him a good preferment from the Lord Lieutenant: Upon going down to take poſſeſſion, Solomon preached, at Cork, a ſermon on King George's birth-day, on this text, *Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof.* Solomon, having been famous for a high Tory, and ſuſpected as a Jacobite, it was a moſt difficult thing to get any thing for him: But that perſon, being an old friend of Lord Carteret, prevailed againſt all Solomon's enemies, and got him made likewiſe one of his Excellency's chaplains. But, upon this ſermon, he was ſtruck out of the liſt, and forbid the Caſtle, until that ſame perſon brought him again to the Lieutenant, and made them friends.

A fancy ſprung in Solomon's head, that a houſe near Dublin would be commodious for him and his boarders, to lodge in on Saturdays and Sundays: Immediately, without conſulting with any creature, he takes a leaſe of a rotten houſe at Rathfarnam, the worſt air in Ireland, for 999 years, at twelve pounds a year; the land, which was only a ſtrip of ground, not being worth twenty ſhillings a year. When the

ſame perſon whom he lampooned heard the thing, he begged Solomon to get a clauſe of ſurrender, and at laſt prevailed to have it done after twenty-one years; becauſe it was a madneſs to pay eleven pounds a year, for a thouſand years, for a houſe that could not laſt twenty. But Solomon made an agreement with his landlady that he ſhould be at liberty to ſurrender his leaſe in ſeven years; and, if he did not do it at that time, ſhould be obliged to keep it for 999 years. In the meantime, he expends about one hundred pounds on the houſe and garden-wall; and, in leſs than three years, contracts ſuch a hatred to the houſe, that he lets it run to ruin: So that, when the ſeven years are expired, he muſt either take it for the remainder of the 999 years, or be ſued for waſte, and loſe all the money he laid out: And now he pays twelve pounds a year for a place he never ſees.

Solomon has an eſtate of about thirty-five pounds *per annum*, in the county of Cavan; upon which, inſtead of ever receiving one penny rent, he hath expended above thirty pound *per annum*, in buildings and plantations, which are all gone to ruin.

Solomon is under-tenant to a Biſhop's leaſe: He is bound by articles to his Lordſhip to renew and pay a fine, whenever the Biſhop renews with his landlord, and to raiſe his rent as the landlord ſhall raiſe it to the Biſhop. Seven years expire: Solomon's landlord demands a fine, which he readily pays; then aſks for a leaſe: The landlord ſays, he may have it at any time. He never gets it. Another ſeven years elapſe: Solomon's landlord demands another fine, and an additional rent: Solomon pays both; aſks to have his leaſe renewed: The ſteward anſwers, he will ſpeak to his maſter. Seventeen years are elapſed: The landlord ſends Solomon word that his leaſe is forfeited, becauſe he hath not renewed and paid his fines according to articles; and now they are at law upon this admirable caſe.

It is Solomon's great happineſs, that, when he acts in the common concerns of life againſt common ſenſe and reaſon, he values himſelf thereupon as if it were the mark of a great genius, above little regards or arts, and that his thoughts are too exalted to deſcend into the knowledge of vulgar management; and you cannot make him a greater compliment than by

telling inſtances to the company, before his face, how careleſs he was in any affair that related to his intereſt and fortune.

He is extremely proud and captious, apt to reſent as an affront and indignity, what was never intended for either.

He is allured as eaſily by every new acquaintance, eſpecially among women, as a child is by a new play-thing, and is led at will by them to ſuſpect and quarrel with his beſt friends, of whom he hath loſt the greateſt part, for want of that indulgency which they ought to allow for his failings.

He is a generous, honeſt, good-natured man; but his perpetual want of judgment and diſcretion, makes him act as if he were neither generous, honeſt, nor good-natured.

The perſon above-mentioned, whom he lampooned, and to whom he owes his preferment, being in the country and out of order; Solomon had appointed to come for him with a chaiſe, and bring him to town. Solomon ſent him word that he was to ſet out on Monday, and did accordingly, but to another part of the kingdom, thirty miles wide of the place appointed, in compliment to a lady who was going that way; there ſtaid, with her and her family, a month, then ſent the chaiſe, in the midſt

of winter, to bring the ſaid perſon, where Solomon would meet him, declaring he could not venture himſelf for fear of the froſt: And upon the ſaid perſon's refuſing to go in the chaiſe alone, or to truſt to Solomon's appointment, and being in ill health; Solomon fell into a formal quarrel with that perſon, and foully miſrepreſented the whole affair to juſtify himſelf.

Solomon had publiſhed a humourous ballad, called *Balyſpellin* *, whither he had gone to drink the waters, with a new favourite lady. The ballad was in the manner of Mr. Gay's on *Molly Mogg*, pretending to contain all the rhymes of Balyſpellin. His friend, the perſon ſo often mentioned, being at a gentleman's houſe in the neighbourhood, and merry over Solomon's ballad, they agreed to make another, in diſpraiſe of Balyſpellin-wells, which Solomon had celebrated, and with all new rhymes not made uſe of in Solomon's †. The thing was done, and all in a mere jeſt and innocent merriment. Yet Solomon was prevailed upon, by the Lady he went with, to reſent this as an affront on her and himſelf; which he did accordingly, againſt all the rules of reaſon, taſte,

* See Vol. XIV. p. 233. † Ibid. p. 231.

good-

good-nature, judgment, gratitude, or common manners.

He will invite ſix or more people of condition to dine with him on a certain day, ſome of them living five or ſix miles from town. On the day appointed he will be abſent, and know nothing of the matter, and they all go back diſappointed: When he is told of this, he is pleaſed, becauſe it ſhews him to be a genius and a man of learning.

Having lain many years under the obloquy of a high Tory and Jacobite, upon the preſent Queen's birth-day he writ a ſong, to be performed before the Government and thoſe who attended them, in praiſe of the Queen and the King, on the common topics of her beauty, wit, family, love of England, and all other virtues, wherein the King and the Royal Children were ſharers. It was very hard to avoid the common topics, which were mentioned in abundance. A young collegian, who had done the ſame job the year before, got ſome reputation on the account of his wit: Solomon would needs vie with him, by which he loſt all the eſteem of his old friends the Tories, and got not the leaſt intereſt with the Whigs; for they are now

too ſtrong to want advocates of that kind: And therefore one of the Lords Juſtices, reading the verſes in ſome company, ſaid, " Ah, Doctor, this ſhall not do." His name was at length in the title-page; and he did this without the knowledge or advice of one living ſoul, as he himſelf confeſſeth.

His full conviction of having acted wrong, in a hundred inſtances, leaves him as poſitive in the next inſtance as if he had never been miſtaken in his life: And if you go to him the next day, and find him convinced in the laſt, he hath another inſtance ready, wherein he is as poſitive as he was the day before.

ON THE DEATH OF

Mrs. JOHNSON, [STELLA.]

THIS day, being Sunday January 28th 1727-8, about eight o'clock at night a ſervant brought me a note, with an account of the death of the trueſt, moſt virtuous, and valuable friend, that I or perhaps any other perſon ever was bleſſed with. She expired about ſix in the evening of this day; and, as ſoon as I am left alone, which is about eleven at night, I reſolve, for my own ſatisfaction, to ſay ſomething of her life and character.

She was born at Richmond in Surrey, on the thirteenth day of March, in the year 1681. Her father was a younger brother of a good family in Nottinghamſhire, her mother of a lower degree; and indeed ſhe had little to boaſt of her birth. I knew her from ſix years old, and had ſome ſhare in her education, by directing what books ſhe ſhould read, and perpetually inſtructing her in the principles of honour and virtue; from which ſhe never ſwerved in any one action or moment of

her life. She was ſickly from her childhood until about the age of fifteen: But then grew into perfect health, and was looked upon as one of the moſt beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in London, only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection. She lived generally in the country, with a family, where ſhe contracted an intimate friendſhip with another lady of more advanced years. I was then (to my mortification) ſettled in Ireland; and, about a year after, going to viſit my friends in England, I found ſhe was a little uneaſy upon the death of a perſon on whom ſhe had ſome dependance. Her fortune, at that time, was in all not above fifteen hundred pounds, the intereſt of which was but a ſcanty maintenance, in ſo dear a country, for one of her ſpirit. Upon this conſideration, and indeed very much for my own ſatisfaction, who had few friends or acquaintance in Ireland, I prevailed with her and her dear friend and companion, the other lady, to draw what money they had into Ireland, a great part of their fortune being in annuities upon funds. Money was then at

* Mrs. Dingley.

ten *per cent.* in Ireland, beſides the advantage of returning it, and all neceſſaries of life at half the price. They complied with my advice, and ſoon after came over; but, I happening to continue ſome time longer in England, they were much diſcouraged to live in Dublin, where they were wholly ſtrangers. She was at that time about nineteen years old, and her perſon was ſoon diſtinguiſhed. But the adventure looked ſo like a frolic, the cenſure held, for ſome time, as if there were a ſecret hiſtory in ſuch a removal; which, however, ſoon blew off by her excellent conduct. She came over with her friend on the in the year 170—; and they both lived together until this day, when death removed her from us. For ſome years paſt, ſhe had been viſited with continual ill-health; and ſeveral times, within theſe laſt two years, her life was deſpaired of. But, for this twelve-month paſt, ſhe never had a day's health; and, properly ſpeaking, ſhe hath been dying ſix months, but kept alive, almoſt againſt nature, by the generous kindneſs of two phyſicians, and the care of her friends. Thus far I writ the ſame night between eleven and twelve.

Never was any of her ſex born with better gifts of the mind, or more improved them by reading and converſation. Yet her memory was not of the beſt, and was impaired in the latter years of her life. But I cannot call to mind that I ever once heard her make a wrong judgment of perſons, books, or affairs. Her advice was always the beſt, and with the greateſt freedom, mixt with the greateſt decency. She had a gracefulneſs ſomewhat more than human in every motion, word, and action. Never was ſo happy a conjunction of civility, freedom, eaſineſs and ſincerity. There ſeemed to be a combination among all that knew her, to treat her with a dignity much beyond her rank: Yet people of all ſorts were never more eaſy than in her company. Mr. Addiſon, when he was in Ireland, being introduced to her, immediately found her out; and, if he had not ſoon after left the kingdom, aſſured me he would have uſed all endeavours to cultivate her friendſhip. A rude or conceited coxcomb paſſed his time very ill, upon the leaſt breach of reſpect; for, in ſuch a caſe, ſhe had no mercy, but was ſure to expoſe him to the contempt of the ſtanders-by; yet in ſuch a manner as he was aſhamed

to

to complain, and durſt not reſent. All of us, who had the happineſs of her friendſhip, agreed unanimouſly, that, in an afternoon or evening's converſation, ſhe never failed before we parted of delivering the beſt thing that was ſaid in the company. Some of us have written down ſeveral of her ſayings, or what the French call *Bon Mots*, wherein ſhe excelled almoſt beyond belief *. She never miſtook the underſtanding of others; nor ever ſaid a ſevere word, but where a much ſeverer was deſerved.

Her ſervants loved and almoſt adored her at the ſame time. She would, upon occaſions, treat them with freedom, yet her demeanour was ſo awful, that they durſt not fail in the leaſt point of reſpect. She chid them ſeldom, but it was with ſeverity, which had an effect upon them for a long time after.

January 29th, My head achs, and I can write no more.

January 30th, Tueſday.

This is the night of the funeral, which my ſickneſs will not ſuffer me to attend. It is now nine at night, and I am removed into another apartment, that I may not ſee the light in the church, which is juſt over againſt the window of my bedchamber.

* See Vol. XII. p. 324. With

With all the ſoftneſs of temper that became a lady, ſhe had the perſonal courage of a hero. She and her friend having removed their lodgings to a new houſe, which ſtood ſolitary, a parcel of rogues, armed, attempted the houſe, where there was only one boy: She was then about four and twenty: And, having been warned to apprehend ſome ſuch attempt, ſhe learned the management of a piſtol; and, the other women and ſervants being half-dead with fear, ſhe ſtole ſoftly to her dining-room window, put on a black hood, to prevent being ſeen, primed the piſtol freſh, gently lifted up the ſaſh; and, taking her aim with the utmoſt preſence of mind, diſcharged the piſtol loaden with the bullets, into the body of one villain, who ſtood the faireſt mark. The fellow, mortally wounded, was carried off by the reſt, and died the next morning, but his companions could not be found. The Duke of Ormond hath often drank her health to me upon that account, and had always an high eſteem of her. She was indeed under ſome apprehenſions of going in a boat, after ſome danger ſhe had narrowly eſcaped by water, but ſhe was reaſoned thoroughly out of it. She was never

known to cry out, or diſcover any fear, in a coach or on horſeback, or any uneaſineſs by thoſe ſudden accidents with which moſt of her ſex, either by weakneſs or affectation, appear ſo much diſordered.

She never had the leaſt abſence of mind in converſation, nor given to interruption, or appeared eager to put in her word by waiting impatiently until another had done. She ſpoke in a moſt agreeable voice, in the plaineſt words, never heſitating, except out of modeſty before new faces, where ſhe was ſomewhat reſerved; nor, among her neareſt friends, ever ſpoke much at a time. She was but little verſed in the common topics of female chat; ſcandal, cenſure, and detraction, never came out of her mouth: Yet, among a few friends, in private converſation, ſhe made little ceremony in diſcovering her contempt of a coxcomb, and deſcribing all his follies to the life; but the follies of her own ſex ſhe was rather inclined to extenuate or to pity.

When ſhe was once convinced by open facts of any breach of truth or honour, in a perſon of high ſtation, eſpecially in the church, ſhe could not conceal her indignation, nor hear them named without ſhewing her diſpleaſure in her counte-

nance; particularly one or two of the latter ſort, whom ſhe had known and eſteemed, but deteſted above all mankind, when it was manifeſt that they had ſacrificed thoſe two precious virtues to their ambition, and would much ſooner have forgiven them the common immoralities of the laity.

Her frequent fits of ſickneſs, in moſt parts of her life, had prevented her from making that progreſs in reading which ſhe would otherwiſe have done. She was well verſed in the Greek and Roman ſtory, and was not unſkilled in that of France and England. She ſpoke French perfectly, but forgot much of it by neglect and ſickneſs. She had read carefully all the beſt books of travels, which ſerve to open and enlarge the mind. She underſtood the Platonic and Epicurean philoſophy, and judged very well of the defects of the latter. She made very judicious abſtracts of the beſt books ſhe had read. She underſtood the nature of government, and could point out all the errors of Hobbes, both in that and religion. She had a good inſight into phyſic, and knew ſomewhat of anatomy; in both which ſhe was inſtructed in her younger days by an eminent phyſician, who had her long under his care, and bore the

higheſt eſteem for her perſon and underſtanding. She had a true taſte of wit and good ſenſe, both in poetry and proſe, and was a perfect good critic of ſtyle: Neither was it eaſy to find a more proper or impartial judge, whoſe advice an author might better rely on, if he intended to ſend a thing into the world, provided it was on a ſubject that came within the compaſs of her knowledge. Yet, perhaps, ſhe was ſometimes too ſevere, which is a ſafe and pardonable error. She preſerved her wit, judgment, and vivacity to the laſt, but often uſed to complain of her memory.

Her fortune, with ſome acceſſion, could not, as I have heard ſay, amount to much more than two thouſand pounds, whereof a great part fell with her life, having been placed upon annuities in England, and one in Ireland. In a perſon ſo extraordinary, perhaps it may be pardonable to mention ſome particulars, although of little moment, further than to ſet forth her character. Some preſents of gold-pieces being often made to her while ſhe was a girl, by her mother and other friends, on promiſe to keep them, ſhe grew into ſuch a ſpirit of thrift, that, in about three years, they amounted to above two

hundred

hundred pounds. She uſed to ſhew them with boaſting; but her mother, apprehending ſhe would be cheated of them, prevailed, in ſome months, and with great importunities, to have them put out to intereſt: When the girl loſt the pleaſure of ſeeing and counting her gold, which ſhe never failed of doing many times in a day, and deſpaired of heaping up ſuch another treaſure, her humour took the quite contrary turn: She grew careleſs and ſquandering of every new acquiſition, and ſo continued till about two and twenty; when, by advice of ſome friends, and the fright of paying large bills of tradeſmen, who enticed her into their debt, ſhe began to reflect upon her own folly, and was never at reſt until ſhe had diſcharged all her ſhop-bills, and refunded herſelf a conſiderable ſum ſhe had run out. After which, by the addition of a few years and a ſuperior underſtanding, ſhe became, and continued all her life a moſt prudent oeconomiſt; yet ſtill with a ſtrong bent to the liberal ſide, wherein ſhe gratified herſelf by avoiding all expence in cloaths, (which ſhe ever deſpiſed) beyond what was merely decent. And, although her frequent returns of ſickneſs were very chargeable,

except fees to phyſicians, of which ſhe met with ſeveral ſo generous that ſhe could force nothing on them, (and indeed ſhe muſt otherwiſe have been undone;) yet ſhe never was without a conſiderable ſum of ready money. Inſomuch that, upon her death, when her neareſt friends thought her very bare, her executors found in her ſtrong box about a hundred and fifty pounds in gold. She lamented the narrowneſs of her fortune in nothing ſo much, as that it did not enable her to entertain her friends ſo often, and in ſo hoſpitable a manner as ſhe deſired. Yet they were always welcome; and, while ſhe was in health to direct, were treated with neatneſs and elegance: So that the revenues of her and her companion, paſſed for much more conſiderable than they really were. They lived always in lodgings, their domeſticks conſiſting of two maids and one man. She kept an account of all the family-expences, from her arrival in Ireland to ſome months before her death; and ſhe would often repine, when looking back upon the annals of her houſhold bills, that every thing neceſſary for life was double the price, while intereſt of money was ſunk almoſt to one half; ſo

that

that the addition made to her fortune was indeed grown abſolutely neceſſary.

[I ſince writ as I found time.]

But her charity to the poor was a duty not to be diminiſhed, and therefore became a tax upon thoſe tradeſmen who furniſh the fopperies of other ladies. She bought cloaths as ſeldom as poſſible, and thoſe as plain and cheap as conſiſted with the ſituation ſhe was in; and wore no lace for many years. Either her judgment or fortune was extraordinary, in the choice of thoſe on whom ſhe beſtowed her charity; for it went further in doing good than double the ſum from any other hand. And I have heard her ſay, ſhe always met with gratitude from the poor: Which muſt be owing to her ſkill in diſtinguiſhing proper objects, as well as her gracious manner in relieving them.

But ſhe had another quality that much delighted her, although it may be thought a kind of check upon her bounty; however it was a pleaſure ſhe could not reſiſt: I mean that of making agreeable preſents, wherein I never knew her equal, although it be an affair of as delicate a nature as moſt in the courſe of life. She uſed to define a preſent, That it was a gift to a friend

of ſomething he wanted or was fond of, and which could not be eaſily gotten for money. I am confident, during my acquaintance with her, ſhe hath, in theſe and ſome other kinds of liberality, diſpoſed of to the value of ſeveral hundred pounds. As to preſents made to herſelf, ſhe received them with great unwillingneſs, but eſpecially from thoſe to whom ſhe had ever given any; being on all occaſions the moſt diſintereſted mortal I ever knew or heard of.

From her own diſpoſition, at leaſt as much as from the frequent want of health, ſhe ſeldom made any viſits; but her own lodgings, from before twenty years old, were frequented by many perſons of the graver ſort, who all reſpected her highly, upon her good ſenſe, good manners, and converſation. Among theſe were the late Primate Lindſay, Biſhop Loyd, Biſhop Aſhe, Biſhop Brown, Biſhop Stearn, Biſhop Pulleyn, with ſome others of later date; and indeed the greateſt number of her acquaintance was among the clergy. Honour, truth, liberality, good nature, and modeſty, were the virtues ſhe chiefly poſſeſſed, and moſt valued in her acquaintance; and where ſhe found them, would be ready to

allow for ſome defects, nor valued them leſs, although they did not ſhine in learning or in wit; but would never give the leaſt allowance for any failures in the former, even to thoſe who made the greateſt figure in either of the two latter. She had no uſe of any perſon's liberality, yet her deteſtation of covetous people made her uneaſy if ſuch a one was in her company; upon which occaſion ſhe would ſay many things very entertaining and humorous.

She never interrupted any perſon who ſpoke; ſhe laught at no miſtakes they made, but helped them out with modeſty; and if a good thing were ſpoken, but neglected, ſhe would not let it fall, but ſet it in the beſt light to thoſe who were preſent. She liſtened to all that was ſaid, and had never the leaſt diſtraction, or abſence of thought.

It was not ſafe nor prudent, in her preſence, to offend in the leaſt word againſt modeſty; for ſhe then gave full employment to her wit, her contempt, and reſentment, under which even ſtupidity and brutality were forced to ſink into confuſion; and the guilty perſon, by her future avoiding him like a bear or a ſatyr, was

never

never in a way to tranſgreſs a ſecond time.

It happened one ſingle coxcomb, of the pert kind, was in her company, among ſeveral other ladies; and, in his flippant way, began to deliver ſome double meanings: The reſt flapt their fans, and uſed the other common expedients practiſed in ſuch caſes, of appearing not to mind or comprehend what was ſaid. Her behaviour was very different, and perhaps may be cenſured. She ſaid thus to the man: "Sir, all theſe ladies and I under-"ſtand your meaning very well, having, "in ſpite of our care, too often met with "thoſe of your ſex who wanted manners "and good ſenſe. But, believe me, neither "virtuous nor even vicious women love "ſuch kind of converſation. However, I "will leave you, and report your beha-"viour: And, whatever viſit I make, I "ſhall firſt enquire at the door whether "you are in the houſe, that I may be "ſure to avoid you." I know not whether a majority of ladies would approve of ſuch a proceeding; but I believe the practice of it would ſoon put an end to that corrupt converſation, the worſt effect of dulneſs, ignorance, impudence, and vulgarity, and

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the higheſt affront to the modeſty and underſtanding of the female ſex.

By returning very few viſits, ſhe had not much company of her own ſex, except thoſe whom ſhe moſt loved for their eaſineſs, or eſteemed for their good ſenſe; and thoſe, not inſiſting on ceremony, came often to her. But ſhe rather choſe men for her companions, the uſual topics of ladies diſcourſe being ſuch as ſhe had little knowledge of, and leſs reliſh. Yet no man was upon the rack to entertain her, for ſhe eaſily deſcended to any thing that was innocent and diverting. News, politics, cenſure, family-management, or town-talk, ſhe always diverted to ſomething elſe; but theſe indeed ſeldom happened, for ſhe choſe her company better: And therefore many, who miſtook her and themſelves, having ſolicited her acquaintance, and finding themſelves diſappointed after a few viſits, dropt off; and ſhe was never known to enquire into the reaſon, or aſk what was become of them.

She was never poſitive in arguing, and ſhe uſually treated thoſe who were ſo, in a manner which well enough gratified that unhappy diſpoſition; yet in ſuch a ſort as made it very contemptible, and at

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the ſame time did ſome hurt to the owners. Whether this proceeded from her eaſineſs in general, or from her indifference to certain perſons, or from her deſpair of mending them, or from the ſame practice which ſhe much liked in Mr. Addiſon, I cannot determine; but when ſhe ſaw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, ſhe was more inclined to confirm them in it than oppoſe them. The excuſe ſhe commonly gave when her friends aſked the reaſon, was, That it prevented noiſe, and ſaved time. Yet I have known her very angry with ſome whom ſhe much eſteemed for ſometimes falling into that infirmity.

She loved Ireland much better than the generality of thoſe who owe both their birth and riches to it; and, having brought over all the fortune ſhe had in money, left the reverſion of the beſt part of it, one thouſand pounds, to Dr. Stephens's Hoſpital. She deteſted the tyranny and injuſtice of England, in their treatment of this kingdom. She had indeed reaſon to love a country, where ſhe had the eſteem and friendſhip of all who knew her, and the univerſal good-report of all who ever heard of her, without one exception, if I am told the truth by thoſe who keep general

neral converſation. Which character is the more extraordinary, in falling to a perſon of ſo much knowledge, wit, and vivacity, qualities that are uſed to create envy, and conſequently cenſure; and muſt be rather imputed to her great modeſty, gentle behaviour, and inoffenſiveneſs, than to her ſuperior virtues.

Although her knowledge, from books and company, was much more extenſive than uſually falls to the ſhare of her ſex; yet ſhe was ſo far from making a parade of it, that her female viſitants, on their firſt acquaintance, who expected to diſcover it, by what they call hard words and deep diſcourſe, would be ſometimes diſappointed, and ſay, they found ſhe was like other women. But wiſe men, through all her modeſty, whatever they diſcourſed on, could eaſily obſerve that ſhe underſtood them very well, by the judgment ſhewn in her obſervations as well as in her queſtions.

OF THE

EDUCATION OF LADIES.

THERE is a ſubject of controverſy which I have frequently met with, in mixt and ſelect companies of both ſexes, and ſometimes only of men; whether it be prudent to chuſe a wife, who hath good natural ſenſe, ſome taſte of wit and humour, ſufficiently verſed in her own natural language, able to read and to reliſh hiſtory, books of travels, moral or entertaining diſcourſes, and be a tolerable judge of the beauties in poetry. This queſtion is generally determined in the negative by the women themſelves, but almoſt univerſally by the men.

We muſt obſerve, that, in this debate, thoſe whom we call men and women of faſhion are only to be underſtood, not merchants, tradeſmen, or others of ſuch occupations, who are not ſuppoſed to have ſhared in a liberal education. I except likewiſe all miniſters of ſtate, during their power, lawyers and phyſicians in great practice, perſons in ſuch employments as take up the greater part of the day, and

perhaps

perhaps ſome other conditions of life which I cannot call to mind. Neither muſt I forget to except all gentlemen of the army, from the general to the enſign; becauſe thoſe qualifications above-mentioned, in a wife, are wholly out of their element and comprehenſion; together with all mathematicians, and gentlemen lovers of muſic, metaphyſicians, virtuoſi, and great talkers, who have all amuſements enough of their own. All theſe put together will amount to a great number of adverſaries, whom I ſhall have no occaſion to encounter, becauſe I am already of their ſentiments. Thoſe perſons, whom I mean to include, are the bulk of lords, knights, and ſquires throughout England, whether they reſide between the town and country, or generally in either. I do alſo include thoſe of the clergy, who have tolerably good preferments in London or any other parts of the kingdom.

The moſt material arguments that I have met with, on the negative ſide of this great queſtion, are what I ſhall now impartially report, in as ſtrong a light as I think they can bear.

It is argued, That the great end of marriage *is propagation*: That, conſequently, the

the principal buſineſs of a wife is to breed children, and to take care of them in their infancy: That the wife is to look to her family, watch over the ſervants, ſee that they do their work: That ſhe be abſent from her houſe as little as poſſible: That ſhe is anſwerable for every thing amiſs in the family: That ſhe is to obey all the lawful commands of her huſband; and viſit, or be viſited, by no perſons whom he diſapproves. That her whole buſineſs, if well performed, will take up moſt hours of the day: That the greater ſhe is, and the more ſervants ſhe keeps, her inſpection muſt encreaſe accordingly. For, as a family repreſents a kingdom, ſo the wife, who is her huſband's firſt miniſter, muſt, under him, direct all the officers of ſtate, even to the loweſt; and report their behaviour to her huſband, as the firſt miniſter does to his prince. That ſuch a ſtation requires much time, and thought, and order; and, if well executed, leaves but little time for viſits or diverſions.

That a humour of reading books, excepting thoſe of devotion or houſewifery, is apt to turn a woman's brain. That plays, romances, novels, and love-poems, are only proper to inſtruct them how to carry

on

n an intrigue. That all affectation of nowledge, beyond what is merely domeſ- c, renders them vain, conceited, and pre- ending. That the natural levity of wo- nen wants ballaſt; and, when ſhe once egins to think, ſhe knows more than thers of her ſex, ſhe will begin to deſpiſe er huſband, and grow fond of every cox- omb who pretends to any knowledge in ooks. That ſhe will learn ſcholaſtic words; nake herſelf ridiculous by pronouncing hem wrong, and applying them abſurdly i all companies. That, in the mean- ime, her houſehold affairs, and the care f her children, will be wholly laid aſide; er toilet will be crowded with all the nder-wits, where the converſation will aſs in criticiſing on the laſt play or poem hat comes out, and ſhe will be careful to emember all the remarks that were made, n order to retail them in the next viſit, ſpecially in company who know nothing f the matter. That ſhe will have all the mpertinence of a pedant, without the nowledge; and, for every new acquire- nent, will become ſo much the worſe.

To ſay the truth, that ſhameful and al- moſt univerſal neglect of good education

among our nobility, gentry, and indeed among all others who are born to good eſtates, will make this eſſay of little uſe to the preſent age: For, conſidering the modern way of training up both ſexes in ignorance, idleneſs, and vice, it is of little conſequence how they are coupled together. And therefore my ſpeculations on this ſubject can be only of uſe to a ſmall number: For, in the preſent ſituation of the world, none but wiſe and good men can fail of miſſing their match, whenever they are diſpoſed to marry; and conſequently there is no reaſon for complaint on either ſide. The forms by which a huſband and wife are to live, with regard to each other and to the world, are ſufficiently known and fixed, in direct contradiction to every precept of morality, religion, or civil inſtitution: It would be therefore an idle attempt to aim at breaking ſo firm an eſtabliſhment.

But as it ſometimes happens, that an elder brother dies late enough to leave the younger at the univerſity, after he hath made ſome progreſs in learning; if we ſuppoſe him to have a tolerable genius, and a deſire to improve it, he may conſequently

quently learn to value and eſteem wiſdom and knowledge wherever he finds them, even after his father's death, when his title and eſtate come into his own poſſeſſion. Of this kind, I reckon, by a favourable computation, there may poſſibly be found, by a ſtrict ſearch among the nobility and gentry throughout England, about five hundred. Among thoſe of all other callings or trades, who are able to maintain a ſon at the univerſity, about treble that number. The ſons of clergymen bred to learning with any ſucceſs, muſt, by reaſon of their parents poverty, be very inconſiderable, many of them being only admitted ſervitors in colleges, (and conſequently proving good for nothing:) I ſhall therefore count them to be not above fourſcore. But, to avoid fractions, I ſhall ſuppoſe there may poſſibly be a round number of two thouſand male human creatures in England (including Wales), who have a tolerable ſhare of reading and good ſenſe. I include in this liſt all perſons of ſuperior abilities, or great genius, or true judgment and taſte, or of profound literature, who, I am confident, we may reckon to be at leaſt five and twenty.

I am very glad to have this opportunity of doing an honour to my country, by a computation which I am afraid foreigners may conceive to be partial; when, out of only fifteen thouſand families of lords and eſtated gentlemen, which may probably be their number, I ſuppoſe one in thirty to be tolerably educated, with a ſufficient ſhare of good ſenſe. Perhaps the cenſure may be juſt. And therefore, upon cooler thoughts, to avoid all cavils, I ſhall reduce them to one thouſand, which, at leaſt, will be a number ſufficient to fill both Houſes of Parliament.

The daughters of great and rich families, computed after the ſame manner, will hardly amount to above half the number of the male: Becauſe the care of their education is either left entirely to their mothers, or they are ſent to boarding-ſchools, or put into the hands of Engliſh or French governeſſes, and generally the worſt that can be gotten for money. So that, after the reduction I was compelled to, from two thouſand to one, half the number of well-educated nobility and gentry muſt either continue in a ſingle life, or be forced to couple themſelves with women

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for whom they can poſſibly have no eſteem; I mean fools, prudes, coquettes, gameſters, ſaunterers, endleſs talkers of nonſenſe, ſplenetic idlers, intriguers, given to ſcandal and cenſure, * * * * *

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A

DISCOURSE

To prove the ANTIQUITY of the

ENGLISH TONGUE.

Shewing, from various Inſtances, that HEBREW, GREEK, *and* LATIN, *were derived from the* ENGLISH.

DURING the reign of parties, for about forty years paſt, it is a melancholy conſideration to obſerve how *Philology* hath been neglected, which was before the darling employment of the greateſt authors, from the reſtoration of learning in Europe. Neither do I remember it to have been cultivated, ſince the Revolution, by any one perſon with great ſucceſs, except our illuſtrious modern ſtar, Doctor Richard Bentley, with whom the republic of learning muſt expire; as mathematics did with Sir Iſaac Newton. My ambition hath been gradually attempting, from my early youth, to be the holder of a ruſh-light before that great luminary; which, at leaſt, might be of ſome little uſe during

those

thoſe ſhort intervals, while he was ſnuffing his candle, or peeping with it under a buſhel.

My preſent attempt is to aſſert the antiquity of our Engliſh Tongue; which, as I ſhall undertake to prove by invincible arguments, hath varied very little for theſe two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-four years paſt. And my proofs will be drawn from etymology; wherein I ſhall uſe my readers much fairer than Pezron, Skinner, Vorſtigan, Camden, and many other ſuperficial pretenders have done. For I will put no force upon the words, nor deſire any more favour than to allow for the uſual accidents of corruption, or the avoiding a cacophonia.

I think I can make it manifeſt to all impartial readers, that our language, as we now ſpeak it, was originally the ſame with thoſe of the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans, however corrupted in ſucceeding times by a mixture of barbariſms. I ſhall only produce, at preſent, two inſtances among a thouſand from the Latin tongue. *Cloaca*, which they interpret a *neceſſary-houſe*, is altogether an Engliſh word, the laſt letter *a* being, by the miſtake of ſome ſcribe, transferred from the beginning to

the end of the word. In the primitive orthography it is called *a cloac*, which had the ſame ſignification; and ſtill continues ſo at Edinburgh in Scotland: Where a man in *a cloac*, or cloak, of large circumference and length, carrying a convenient veſſel under it, calls out, as he goes through the ſtreets, *Wha has need of me?* Whatever cuſtomer calls, the veſſel is placed in the corner of the ſtreet, the *cloac*, or a cloak, ſurrounds and covers him, and thus he is eaſed with decency and ſecreſy.

The ſecond inſtance is yet more remarkable. The Latin word *Turpis* ſignifieth *naſty*, or *filthy*. Now this word *Turpis* is a plain compoſition of two Engliſh words; only, by a ſyncope, the laſt letter of the firſt ſyllable, which is *d*, is taken out of the middle, to prevent the jarring of three conſonants together: And theſe two Engliſh words expreſs the two moſt unſeemly excrements that belong to man.

But although I could produce many other examples, equally convincing, that the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans originally ſpoke the ſame language which we do at preſent; yet I have choſen to confine myſelf chiefly to the proper names of perſons, becauſe I conceive they will be

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of greater weight to confirm what I advance; the ground and reaſon of theſe names being certainly owing to the nature, or ſome diſtinguiſhing action or quality in thoſe perſons, and conſequently expreſſed in the true antient language of the ſeveral people.

I will begin with the Grecians, among whom the moſt antient are the great leaders on both ſides in the ſiege of Troy. For it is plain, from Homer, that the Trojans ſpoke Greek as well as the Grecians. Of theſe latter, *Achilles* was the moſt valiant. This Hero was of a reſtleſs unquiet nature, never giving himſelf any repoſe either in peace or war; and therefore, as Guy of Warwick was called a Kill-cow, and another terrible man a Kill-devil, ſo this General was called *A Kill-eaſe*, or deſtroyer of eaſe; and at length, by corruption, *Achilles*.

Hector, on the other ſide, was the braveſt among the Trojans. He had deſtroyed ſo many of the Greeks, by *hacking* and *tearing* them, that his ſoldiers, when they ſaw him fighting, would cry out, "Now "the enemy will be *hackt*, now he will "be *tore*." At laſt, by putting both words together, this appellation was given to

their

their leader, under the name of *Hack-tore*; and, for the more commodious ſounding, *Hector*.

Diomede, another Grecian captain, had the boldneſs to fight with Venus, and wound her; whereupon the Goddeſs, in a rage, ordered her ſon Cupid to make this Hero be hated by all women, repeating it often that he ſhould *die a maid*; from whence, by a ſmall change in orthography, he was called *Diomede*. And it is to be obſerved, that the term *Maiden-head* is frequently, at this very day, applied to perſons of either ſex.

Ajax was, in fame, the next Grecian general to Achilles. The derivation of his name from *A Jakes*, however aſſerted by great authors, is, in my opinion, very unworthy both of them and of the Hero himſelf. I have often wondered to ſee ſuch learned men miſtake in ſo clear a point. This Hero is known to have been a moſt intemperate liver, as it is uſual with ſoldiers; and, although he were not old, yet, by converſing with camp-ſtrollers, he had got pains in his bones, which he pretended to his friends were only *Ageaches*; but they telling the ſtory about the army, as the vulgar always confound right

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pronunciation, he was afterwards known by no other name than *Ajax.*

The next I ſhall mention is *Andromache*, the famous wife of Hector. Her father was a Scotch gentleman, of a noble family ſtill ſubſiſting in that antient kingdom. But, being a foreigner in Troy, to which city he led ſome of his countrymen in the defence of Priam, as *Dictys Cretenſis* learnedly obſerves; Hector fell in love with his daughter, and the father's name was *Andrew Mackay.* The young Lady was called by the ſame name, only a little ſoftened to the Grecian accent.

Aſtyanax was the ſon of Hector and Andromache. When Troy was taken, this young Prince had his head cut off, and his body thrown to ſwine. From this fatal accident he had his name; which hath, by a peculiar good fortune, been preſerved entire, *A fly, an ax.*

Mars may be mentioned among theſe, becauſe he fought againſt the Greeks. He was called the God of War; and is deſcribed as a ſwearing, ſwaggering companion, and a great giver of rude language. For, when he was angry, he would cry, "Kiſs *my a--ſe*, *My a--ſe* in a band-box, *My a--ſe* all over:" Which he repeated ſo commonly,

commonly, that he got the appellation of *My-a--ſe*; and, by a common abbreviation, *M'ars*; from whence, by leaving out the mark of eliſion, *Mars*. And this is a common practice among us at preſent; as in the words D'anvers, D'avenport, D'anby, which are now written Danvers, Davenport, Danby, and many others.

The next is *Hercules*, otherwiſe called *Alcides*. Both theſe names are Engliſh, with little alteration; and deſcribe the principal qualities of that Hero, who was diſtinguiſhed for being a ſlave to his miſtreſſes, and at the ſame time for his great ſtrength and courage. Omphale, his chief miſtreſs, uſed to call her lovers *Her cullies*; and, becauſe this Hero was more and longer ſubject to her than any other, he was in a particular manner called the chief of *her cullies*; which, by an eaſy change, made the word *Hercules*. His other name *Alcides* was given him on account of his proweſs: For, in fight, he uſed to ſtrike on *all ſides*, and was allowed on *all ſides* to be the chief hero of his age. For one of which reaſons, he was called *All ſides*, or *Alcides*; but I am inclined to favour the former opinion.

A certain Grecian youth was a great imitator of Socrates; which that philoſopher obſerving, with much pleaſure, ſaid to his friends, "There is an *Ape o' mine own days.*" After which the young man was called *Epaminondes*, and proved to be the moſt virtuous perſon, as well as the greateſt general of his age.

Ucalegon was a very obliging inn-keeper of Troy. When a gueſt was going to take horſe, the landlord took leave of him with this compliment, "Sir, I ſhall be glad "to ſee *you call again.*" Strangers, who knew not his right name, caught his laſt words; and thus, by degrees, that appellation prevailed, and he was known by no other name even among his neighbours.

Hydra was a great ſerpent which Hercules ſlew. His uſual outward garment was the *raw hyde* of a lion, and this he had on when he attacked the ſerpent; which, therefore, took its name from the ſkin: The modeſty of that Hero devolving the honour of his victory upon the lion's ſkin, calling that enormous ſnake the *Hyde-raw* ſerpent.

Leda was the mother of Caſtor and Pollux; whom Jupiter embracing in the ſhape of a ſwan, ſhe *laid a* couple of eggs; and was therefore called *Laid a*, or Leda.

As

As to Jupiter himſelf: It is well known that the ſtatues and pictures of this Heathen God, in the Roman-catholic countries, reſemble thoſe of St. Peter, and are often taken the one for the other. The reaſon is manifeſt: For, when the emperors had eſtabliſhed Chriſtianity, the Heathens were afraid of acknowledging their heathen idols of the chief God, and pretended it was only a ſtatue of the *Jew Peter*. And thus the principal Heathen God came to be called by the antient Romans, with very little alteration, *Jupiter*.

The *Hamadryades* are repreſented by miſtaken antiquity as Nymphs of the Groves. But the true account is this: They were women of Calabria, who dealt in bacon; and, living near the ſea-ſide, uſed to pickle their bacon in ſalt-water, and then ſet it up to dry in the ſun. From whence they were properly called *Ham-a-dry-a-days*, and, in proceſs of time, miſſpelt *Hamadryades*.

Neptune, the God of the ſea, had his name from the *Tunes* ſung to him by tritons, upon their ſhells every *neap* or *nep* tide. The word is come down to us almoſt uncorrupted, as well as that of the *Tritons*, his ſervants; who, in order to pleaſe their

maſter, uſed to *try* all *tones*, till they could hit upon that he liked.

Ariſtotle was a Peripatetic philoſopher, who uſed to inſtruct his ſcholars while he was walking. When the lads were come, he would *ariſe to tell* them what he thought proper; and was therefore called *Ariſe to tell.* But ſucceeding ages, who underſtood not this etymology, have, by an abſurd change, made it *Ariſtotle.*

Ariſtophanes was a Greek comedian, full of levity, and gave himſelf too much freedom; which made a graver people not ſcruple to ſay, that he had a great deal of *airy ſtuff in his* writings: And theſe words, often repeated, made ſucceeding ages denominate him *Ariſtophanes.* Vide *Roſin. Antiq. l.* iv.

Alexander the Great was very fond of eggs roaſted in hot aſhes. As ſoon as his cooks heard he was come home to dinner or ſupper, they called aloud to their under-officers, *All eggs under the Grate*: Which, repeated every day at noon and evening, made ſtrangers think it was that Prince's real name, and therefore gave him no other; and poſterity hath been ever ſince under the ſame deluſion.

Pygmalion

Pygmalion was a perſon of very low ſtature, but great valour; which made his townſmen call him *Pygmy lion:* And ſo it ſhould be ſpelt; although the word hath ſuffered leſs by tranſcribers than many others.

Archimedes was a moſt famous mathematician. His ſtudies required much ſilence and quiet: But his wife having ſeveral maids, they were always diſturbing him with their tattle or their buſineſs; which forced him to come out every now and then to the ſtair-head, and cry, "*Hark ye maids*, if you "will not be quiet, I ſhall turn you out "of doors." He repeated theſe words, *Hark ye maids*, ſo often, that the unlucky jades, when they found he was at his ſtudy, would ſay, There is *Hark ye maids*, let us ſpeak ſoftly. Thus the name went through the neighbourhood; and, at laſt, grew ſo general, that we are ignorant of that great man's true name to this day.

Strabo was a famous geographer; and, to improve his knowledge, travelled over ſeveral countries, as the writers of his life inform us; who likewiſe add, that he affected great niceneſs and finery in his cloaths: From whence people took occaſion to call him the Stray beau; which future

ages have pinned down upon him, very much to his diſhonour.

Peloponneſus, that famous Grecian peninſula, got its name from a Greek colony in Aſia the Leſs; many of whom going for traffic thither, and finding that the inhabitants had but one well in the town of * * * *, from whence certain porters uſed to carry the water through the city in great pails, ſo heavy that they were often forced to ſet them down for eaſe; the tired porters, after they had ſet down the pails, and wanted to take them up again, would call for aſſiſtance to thoſe who were neareſt, in theſe words, *Pail up, and eaſe us.* The ſtranger Greeks, hearing theſe words repeated a thouſand times as they paſſed the ſtreet, thought the inhabitants were pronouncing the name of their country, which made the foreign Greeks call it *Peloponneſus*, a manifeſt corruption of *Pail up and eaſe us.*

Having mentioned ſo many Grecians to prove my hypotheſis, I ſhall not tire the reader with producing an equal number of Romans, as I might eaſily do. Some few will be ſufficient.

Ceſar was the greateſt captain of that empire: The word ought to be ſpelt *Seiſer*,

becauſe he *ſeiſed* on not only moſt of the known world, but even the liberties of his own country: So that a more proper appellation could not have been given him.

Cicero was a poor ſcholar in the univerſity of Athens, wherewith his enemies in Rome uſed to reproach him; and, as he paſſed the ſtreets, would call out, *O Ciſer, Ciſer o!* A word ſtill uſed in Cambridge, and anſwers to a ſervitor in Oxford.

Anibal was ſworn enemy of the Romans, and gained many glorious victories over them. This name appears at firſt repeating to be a metaphor drawn from tennis, expreſſing a ſkilful gameſter, who can take *any ball*; and is very juſtly applied to ſo renowned a commander. Navigators are led into a ſtrange miſtake upon this article. We have uſually in our fleet ſome large man of war, called the *Anibal* with great propriety, becauſe it is ſo ſtrong that it may defy *any ball* from a cannon. And ſuch is the deplorable ignorance of our ſeamen, that they miſcall it the *Honey-ball.*

Cartago was the moſt famous trading city in the world; where, in every ſtreet, there was many a *cart a going*, probably laden with

with merchants goods. Vide *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and *Suidas* upon the word *Cartago*.

The word *Roman* itſelf is perfectly Engliſh, like other words ending in *man* or *men*, as Hangman, Drayman, Huntſman, and ſeveral others. It was formerly ſpelt *Row-man*, which is the ſame with *Waterman*. And therefore, when we read of *Jeſta* (or, as it is corruptly ſpelt, *Geſta*) *Romanorum*, it is to be underſtood of the rough manner of *jeſting* uſed by watermen; who, upon the ſides of rivers, would *row man or'um*. This I think is clear enough to convince the moſt incredulous.

Miſanthropus was the name of an ill-natured man, which he obtained by a cuſtom of catching a great number of *mice*, then ſhutting them up in a room and throwing a cat among them. Upon which his fellow citizens called him *Mice and throw puſs*. The reader obſerves how much the orthography hath been changed without altering the ſound: But ſuch depravations we owe to the injury of time, and groſs ignorance of tranſcribers.

Among the antients, fortune-telling by the ſtars was a very beggarly trade. The profeſſors lay upon ſtraw, and their cabins were covered with the ſame materials.

Whence every one who followed that myſtery was called *A ſtraw lodger*, or a lodger in ſtraw; but, in the new-fangled way of ſpelling, *Aſtrologer*.

It is remarkable that the very word *Dipthong* is wholly Engliſh. In former times ſchool-boys were chaſtiſed with thongs faſtened at the head of a ſtick. It was obſerved that young lads were much puzzled with ſpelling, and pronouncing words where two vowels came together, and were often corrected for their miſtakes in that point. Upon theſe occaſions the maſter would *dip* his *thongs* (as we now do rods) in p---, which made that difficult union of vowels to be called *Dipthong*.

Bucephalus, the famous horſe of Alexander, was ſo called becauſe there were many grooms employed about him, which *fellows* were always *buſy* in their office; and, becauſe the horſe had ſo many *buſy fellows* about him, it was natural for thoſe who went to the ſtable to ſay, "Let us go to the "*buſy fellows*;" by which they meant to ſee that Prince's horſe. And, in proceſs of time, theſe words were abſurdly applied to the animal itſelf, which was thenceforth ſtyled *Buſy-fellows*, and very improperly *Bucephalus*.

I ſhall

I ſhall now bring a few proofs of the ſame kind, to convince my readers that our Engliſh language was well known to the Jews.

Moſes, the great leader of thoſe people out of Egypt, was in propriety of ſpeech called *Mow ſeas*, becauſe he *mowed* the *ſeas* down in the middle, to make a path for the Iſraelites.

Abraham was a perſon of ſtrong bones and ſinews, and a firm walker, which made the people ſay, He was a man (in the Scotch phraſe, which comes neareſt to the old Saxon) of *a bra ham;* that is, of a brave ſtrong ham, from whence he acquired his name.

The man whom the Jews called *Balam* was a ſhepherd; who, by often crying *Ba* to his *lambs*, was therefore called *Baalamb*, or *Balam.*

Iſaac is nothing elſe but *Eyes ake;* becauſe the Talmudiſts report that he had a pain in his eyes. Vide *Ben-gorion* and the *Targum* on *Geneſis.*

Thus I have manifeſtly proved, that the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews, ſpoke the language we now do in England; which is an honour to our country that I thought proper to ſet in a true light, and

yet

yet hath not been done, as I have heard, by any other writer.

And thus I have ventured (perhaps too temeariouſly) to contribute my mite to the learned world; from whoſe candour, if I may hope to receive ſome approbation, it may probably give me encouragement to proceed on ſome other ſpeculations, if poſſible, of greater importance than what I now offer; and which have been the labour of many years, as well as of conſtant watchings, that I might be uſeful to mankind, and particularly to mine own country.

End of VOLUME XV.

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